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VOLUME 8

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PHILIP King of Macedon hearing his Sons
PERSEUS and DEMETRIUS.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

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I OBSERVED in the preceding book, that Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy Evergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus

[a] A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. & l. v. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

cus and Antiochus; and the firſt, who was the elder, ſucceeded to his father's throne, and aſſumed the ſurname of ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ (Ceraunus) or the *Thunder*, which no way ſuited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that correſponded with the idea of that name. His reign was ſhort, and his authority but ill eſtabliſhed, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his loſing it entirely was, that Achæus, his couſin, ſon to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, aſſumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus; and kept priſoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and part of the following.

[b] Attalus king of Pergamus having ſeiſed upon all Aſia Minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Helleſpont, Seleucus marched againſt him, and left Hermias the Cariaan regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good ſervices the ill ſtate of his affairs would admit.

[c] Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being deſpiſed by the ſoldiers for his weakneſs, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conſpiracy againſt him during his abſence in Phrygia, and poiſoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ringleaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with ſo much prudence and valour with regard to the army, that he kept the ſoldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have loſt the Syrian empire all it ſtill poſſeſſed on that ſide.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and ſeveral of the provinces did

[b] A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224. [c] A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia Minor, had sent him into Babylonia,* where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

[d] As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the East, the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia Minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

[d] A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

* To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the East, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

This miniſter was of a cruel diſpoſition. The moſt inconſiderable faults were by him made crimes, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himſelf, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a diſhonour to have either aſked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any perſon ſhould ſhare with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was ſuſpected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ableſt generals of his time, and in whom the troops repoſed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime miniſter umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

[e] News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus aſſembled his council, in order to conſider what was to be done in the preſent poſture of affairs: and whether it would be adviſable for him to march in perſon againſt that rebel, or turn towards Cœloſyria, to check the enterpriſes of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the firſt who ſpoke, and declared, that they had no time to loſe: that it was abſolutely neceſſary the king ſhould go in perſon into the Eaſt, in order to take advantage of the moſt favourable times and occaſions for acting againſt the rebels: that when he ſhould be on the ſpot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in the ſight of the prince, and of an army; or, in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in his deſign, the people, ſtruck with the preſence of their ſovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the moſt important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himſelf. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and ſelf-ſufficient tone of voice, that to adviſe the king to march in perſon againſt Molo, with ſo inconſiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of

[e] A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Polyb. l. v. p. 386—395.

of his ſpeaking in this manner was, his being afraid of ſharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much leſs formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleaſures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; upon which the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war againſt Molo; and the king himſelf marched with the reſt of the army towards Cœloſyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to eſpouſe him. He made ſome ſtay there to ſolemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was ſoon interrupted by the news brought from the Eaſt, viz. that his generals, unable to make head againſt Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them maſters of the field of battle. Antiochus then ſaw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aſide the enterpriſe againſt Cœloſyria, in order to march with all his troops to ſuppreſs that revolt. But Hermias perſiſted as obſtinately as ever in his firſt opinion. He fancied he ſpoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatic, ſententious manner, "That it became kings to march in perſon againſt kings, and to ſend their lieutenants againſt rebels." Antiochus was ſo weak as to acquieſce again in Hermias's opinion.

It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, how uſeleſs experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, inſinuating, and deceitful miniſter, who knew how to adapt himſelf to all the deſires and inclinations of his maſter; inventive and induſtrious in finding out new methods to pleaſe and amuſe, he had the cunning to make himſelf neceſſary, by eaſing his prince of the weight of affairs; ſo that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived ſeveral things in his conduct

conduct and counſels which gave him diſguſt, he would not give himſelf the trouble to examine ſtrictly into them; nor had reſolution enough to reſume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquieſcing again in his opinion on this occaſion, (not from conviction but weakneſs and indolence) he contented himſelf with ſending a general, and a body of troops, into the Eaſt; and himſelf reſumed the expedition of Cœloſyria.

[f] The general he ſent on that occaſion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whoſe commiſſion it was ordered, that the two firſt generals ſhould reſign to him the command of their forces, and ſerve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime miniſter's friend and creature. Raiſed to an employment, which his vanity and preſumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtineſs to the other officers, and with boldneſs and temerity to the enemy. The ſucceſs was ſuch as might be expected from ſo ill a choice. In paſſing the Tigris, he fell into an ambuſcade, into which the enemy drew him by ſtratagem, and himſelf and all his army were cut pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Meſopotamia, of which they, by this means, poſſeſſed themſelves without any oppoſition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, was advanced into Cœloſyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the paſſes of theſe mountains ſo ſtrongly fortified, and ſo well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it not poſſible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the Eaſt haſtened alſo his retreat. He aſſembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after ſaying, in a modeſt tone, that it would have been moſt

[f] A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

moſt adviſable to march immediately againſt them, to prevent their having time to fortify themſelves as they had done, added, that the ſame reaſon ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and ſtudy to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himſelf injured by this diſcourſe, began to exclaim againſt Epigenes in the moſt opprobrious terms on this occaſion. He conjured the king not to lay aſide the enterpriſe of Cœloſyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without inſtancing a levity and inconſtancy entirely inconſiſtent with the glory of a prince of his wiſdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through ſhame; and Antiochus himſelf was much diſſatisfied. It was unanimouſly reſolved to march with the utmoſt ſpeed againſt the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all reſiſtance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and ſeemed more ardent than any body for haſtening its execution. Accordingly the troops ſet out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had ſcarce ſet out, when a ſedition aroſe in the army on account of the ſoldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias, ſeeing the king in ſuch perplexity, comforted him, and promiſed to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the ſame time earneſtly beſought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, becauſe, after the noiſe their quarrels had made, it would no longer be poſſible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the ſervice might require. His view in this was, to begin by leſſening Antiochus's eſteem and affection for Epigenes by abſence, well knowing, that princes ſoon forget the virtue and ſervices of a man removed from their ſight.

This

This propoſal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly ſenſible how neceſſary the preſence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in ſo important an expedition. But,* as Hermias had induſtriouſly contrived to beſiege, and in a manner poſſeſs him by all manner of methods, ſuch as ſuggeſting to him pretended views of œconomy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the moſt abandoned complacency and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own maſter. The king therefore conſented, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event ſurpriſed and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehenſive of the ſame fate: but the ſoldiers having received all their arrears were very eaſy; and thought themſelves highly obliged to the prime miniſter, by whoſe means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himſelf maſter of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's diſgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from ſatiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneaſineſs with regard to the future, he was apprehenſive that he might obtain leave to return, to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwiſe with regard to an all powerful miniſter, the ſole diſpenſer of his maſter's graces! Hermias orders this man to diſpatch Epigenes, and preſcribes him the manner. In conſequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domeſtics; and, by gifts and promiſes, engages him to ſlide a letter he gave him among his maſter's papers. This letter ſeemed to have been written and ſubſcribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of

* Περιεχομενον δε ϗ προκατειλημμενον οικονομιας, ϗ φυλακαις, ϗ θεραπειαις υπο της Ερμειυ κακοηθειας, ϗκ ην αυτη κυριος. *Circumventus & tractus occupatus œconomiis, et cuſtodiis, & obſequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, ſibi non erat dominus.* This is a literal tranſlation.

of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conſpiracy againſt the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might ſafely put it in execution. Some days after Alexis went to him, and aſked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, ſurpriſed at this queſtion, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, and at the ſame time the higheſt indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inſpect his papers. Accordingly, a ſearch being made, the forged letter was found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwiſe examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved againſt him. However, the courtiers thought otherwiſe; but fear kept them all tongue-tied, and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied are princes!

Although the ſeaſon was now very far advanced, Antiochus paſſed the Euphrates, aſſembled all his forces; and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next ſpring, he in the mean time ſent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

[g] Upon the return of the ſeaſon he marched them towards the Tigris, paſſed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained ſo complete a victory over him, that the rebel, ſeeing all loſt, laid violent hands on himſelf. His brother Alexander was at that time in Perſia, where Neolas, another of their brothers who eſcaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs deſperate, they firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at laſt diſpatched themſelves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A juſt reward for all thoſe who dare to take up arms againſt their ſovereign.

[g] A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquiſhed army ſubmitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very ſevere terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then ſent them into Media, under the command of thoſe to whoſe care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia over the Tigris, he ſpent ſome time there in giving the orders neceſſary for re-eſtabliſhing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for ſettling all things on their former foot.

This being done by perſons whom he appointed for that purpoſe, he marched againſt the Atropatians, who inhabited the country ſituated to the weſt of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepid old man, who being greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, ſent and made his ſubmiſſion, and concluded a peace on ſuch conditions as Antiochus thought proper to preſcribe.

[b] News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a ſon, which proved a ſubject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment revolved in his mind how he might diſpatch Antiochus; in hopes that, after his death, he ſhould certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and inſolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of a prime miniſter had rendered inſupportable. The complaints did not reach the throne, whoſe avenues were all cloſed againſt them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppreſſion under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inſpecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty, all who dared to ſpeak againſt him. Till now he had been an utter ſtranger to the injuſtice and violence which Hermias exerciſed under his name. At laſt, however, he began to

[b] A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 399--401.

to open his eyes; but was himſelf afraid of his miniſter, whoſe dependent he had made himſelf, and who had aſſumed an abſolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his diſpoſition, who, at firſt, was well pleaſed with diſcharging the burthen of affairs on Hermias.

Apollophanes, his phyſician, in whom the king repoſed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free acceſs to him, took a proper time to repreſent the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger to which himſelf was expoſed, by the ill conduct of his prime miniſter. He therefore adviſed Antiochus to take care of himſelf, leſt the ſame fate ſhould attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia; who fell a victim to the ambition of thoſe on whom he moſt relied: That it was plain Hermias was hatching ſome ill deſign; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be loſt. Theſe were real ſervices, which an officer, who is attached to the perſon of his king, and who has a ſincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the uſe he ought to make of the free acceſs which his ſovereign vouchſafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was ſurrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune, by telling him the truth. It has been very juſtly ſaid, that one of the greateſt bleſſings which GOD can beſtow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the ſilence of good men.

This prince, as was already obſerved, had begun to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of his chief miniſter, but did not reveal his thoughts to any perſon, not knowing whom to truſt. He was extremely well pleaſed that his phyſician had given him this advice; and concerted meaſures with him to rid himſelf of a miniſter ſo univerſally deteſted, and ſo dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to ſome ſmall diſtance from the army, upon pretence of being indiſpoſed, and carried Hermias

with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a ſolitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his aſſiſtance, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. His death cauſed an univerſal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occaſions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppoſe either his opinions or deſigns, was ſure to fall a victim to his reſentment. Accordingly, he was univerſally hated; and this hatred diſplayed itſelf more ſtrongly in Apamea than in any other place: For the inſtant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens roſe with the utmoſt fury, and ſtoned his wife and children.

[i] Antiochus, having ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in the Eaſt, and raiſed to the government of the ſeveral provinces perſons of merit, in whom he could repoſe the greateſt confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He ſpent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his miniſters, on the operations of the enſuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterpriſes to put in execution, for re-eſtabliſhing entirely the ſafety and glory of the empire of Syria: One was againſt Ptolemy, to recover Cœloſyria; and the other againſt Achæus, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of Aſia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having ſeiſed upon all Cœloſyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was ſtill poſſeſſed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by ſuch a neighbour.

With reſpect to Achæus, we have already ſeen in what manner he refuſed the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and ſervices, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Aſia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered

[i] Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

covered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had ſeiſed upon thoſe countries, and fortified himſelf ſtrongly in them. Such a ſeries of ſucceſs drew upon him the envy of ſuch as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was ſpread, that he intended to uſurp the crown; and with that view held a ſecret correſpondence with Ptolemy. Whether theſe ſuſpicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it adviſable to prevent the evil deſigns of his enemies; and, therefore, taking the crown which he had refuſed before, he cauſed himſelf to be declared king.

He ſoon became one of the moſt powerful monarchs of Aſia, and all princes ſolicited very earneſtly his alliance. [k] This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occaſion of a tribute which the latter had impoſed on all the ſhips that paſſed through the Straits; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, becauſe of the great trade they carried on in the Black Sea. Achæus, at the earneſt ſolicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promiſed to aſſiſt them; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmoſt conſternation, as well as Pruſias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to diſengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their intereſt. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was actually priſoner in Alexandria. Theſe ſent a deputation to Ptolemy, requeſting that he might be ſet at liberty. The king, who was alſo very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furniſh him with conſiderable ſuccours againſt Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their requeſt, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable preſent to Achæus, and made the Byzantines loſe all hopes. They thereupon conſented to re-inſtate things upon the ancient foot, and take off

[k] Polyb. l. iv. 314—319.

off the new tribute which had occaſioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two ſtates, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

[1] It was againſt this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was reſolved to turn his arms. Theſe were the two dangerous wars he had to ſuſtain; and were the ſubject of the deliberations of his council, to conſider which of them he ſhould undertake firſt. After weighing all things maturely, it was reſolved to march firſt againſt Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the ſtrongeſt terms: And accordingly all the forces were ordered to aſſemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœloſyria,

In a council that was held before the army ſet out, Apollophanes, the king's phyſician, repreſented to him, that it would be a great overſight, ſhould they march into Cœloſyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and ſo near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident ſtrength of the reaſons which ſupported it; for this city ſtands on the ſame river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invaſion already mentioned, to ſupport the rights of his ſiſter Berenice, he ſeiſed that city, and put a ſtrong Egyptian garriſon into it, which had kept poſſeſſion of that important place full twenty-ſeven years. Among many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the ſea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being ſituated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which ſuffered grievouſly by that means. All theſe reaſons being clearly and ſtrongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the ſiege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, inveſted it,

[1] A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 432—409.

it, took it by ſtorm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cœloſyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of the whole country. We have ſeen how vigorouſly he had repulſed him the year before; nevertheleſs, the court of Egypt had not been ſatisfied with his ſervices on that occaſion. Thoſe who governed the king, expected greater things from his valour; and were perſuaded, that it was in his power to have done ſomething more. Accordingly he was ſent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct, and was threatened with no leſs than loſing his head. Indeed, after his reaſons had been heard, he was acquitted, and ſent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundleſs injury they had done him; and was ſo exaſperated at the affront, that he reſolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witneſs, heightened his indignation and reſentment. It was intolerable to him to depend on the caprice of ſo baſe and contemptible a ſet of people. And, indeed, it would be impoſſible for fancy to conceive more abominable exceſſes than thoſe in which Philopator plunged himſelf during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he ſet them. It was thought that he had poiſoned his father, whence he was, by antiphraſis, ſurnamed * *Philopator*. He publicly cauſed Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all thoſe who could either give him good council, or excite his jealouſy, he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous pleaſures; and was ſolely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the moſt ſhameful paſſions. His prime miniſter was Soſibes, a man every way qualified for the ſervice of ſuch a maſter as Philopator; and one whoſe ſole

* This word ſignifies a lover of his father.

ſole view was to ſupport himſelf in power by any means whatſoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in ſuch a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on ſuch people, and therefore reſolved to find a ſovereign more worthy of his ſervices. Accordingly, he was no ſooner returned to his government, but he ſeiſed upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately diſpatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the ſame country with Theodotus, however would not deſert Ptolemy, but preſerved his fidelity to that prince. The inſtant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he beſieged him in it; poſſeſſed himſelf of the paſſes of mount Libanus to ſtop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the laſt extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took poſſeſſion of Tyre and Ptolemais, whoſe gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In theſe two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the uſe of his army, with a fleet of forty ſail. He gave the command of theſe ſhips to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to ſail to Peluſium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that ſide: However, being informed that this was the ſeaſon in which the inhabitants uſed to lay the country under water, by opening the dykes of the Nile, and conſequently, that it would be impoſſible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the reſt of Cœloſyria. He ſeiſed upon ſome fortreſſes, and others ſubmitted to him; [m] and at laſt he poſſeſſed himſelf of Damaſcus, the capital of that province,

[m] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15.

province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a ſtratagem.

The laſt action of this campaign was the ſiege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was ſtrongly ſituated, had been ſo well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impoſſible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four months' truce, propoſed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this ſerved him as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

[a] During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negociated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occaſion for it, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not ſatisfied with Aſia Minor, of which he was already maſter; but had no leſs in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to diſpoſſeſs him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was neceſſary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conqueſts.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipſus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having being aſſigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other ſide, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and ſucceſſor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarraſſed the commiſſioners,

[a] Polyb. l. v. p. 409—415.

miſſioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus oppoſed abſolutely, alledging, that it was a ſhameful and unheard-of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to eſpouſe the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

° During theſe conteſts, in which neither ſide would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapſed; and nothing being concluded, it became neceſſary to have recourſe again to arms. Nicolaus the Ætolian, had given ſo many proofs of valour and fidelity in the laſt campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the ſervice of the king, in thoſe provinces which occaſioned the war. Perigenes, the admiral put to ſea with the fleet, in order to act againſt the enemy on that ſide. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the neceſſary proviſions had been ſent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he ſeiſed all the paſſes between that chain of mountains and the ſea, by which Antiochus was obliged to paſs; firmly reſolved to wait for him there, and to ſtop his march, by the ſuperiority which the advantageous poſts he was maſter of gave him.

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive, but prepared all things both by ſea and land for a vigorous invaſion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himſelf at the head of his land-forces. The fleets coaſted the armies on both ſides; ſo that their naval as well as land-forces met at the paſſes which Nicolaus had ſeiſed. Whilſt Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage; ſo that the battle began both by ſea and land at the ſame time. At ſea neither party had the ſuperiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after loſing four thouſand of his ſoldiers, who were either killed or taken priſoners. Perigenes followed him thither

° A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218.

thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus purſued them to that city both by ſea and land, with the deſign of beſieging them in it. He nevertheleſs found that conqueſt would be attended with too many difficulties, becauſe of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of proviſions, and other neceſſaries; and he was not willing to beſiege it in form. He therefore ſent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having ſubjected it by the taking of ſeveral cities, he paſſed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manaſſeh.

The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reaſon he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolocus and Kereas, who had deſerted Ptolemy's ſervice, and come over to him; and he gave them five thouſand men to keep it in ſubjection. He marched the reſt of his forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

[p] The campaign was again opened in ſpring. Ptolemy cauſed ſeventy thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and ſixty-three elephants to advance towards Pelluſium. He was at the head of theſe forces, and marched them through the deſarts which divide Egypt from Paleſtine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was ſomething more numerous than the other. His forces conſiſted of ſeventy-two thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and an hundred and two elephants. He firſt encamped within ten furlongs* and ſoon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay ſo near one another they were perpetually ſkirmiſhing, either when they went to fetch freſh water, or in foraging; particulars alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon theſe occaſions.

Theodotus,

[p] A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. v. p. 241—428.

* Half a French league.

Theodotus the Ætolian, who had ſerved many years under the Egyptian, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two perſons. He was taken for an Egyptian; ſo that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a deſign to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his firſt phyſician, having miſtaken him for Ptolemy. He alſo wounded two other perſons; and during the alarm and noiſe which this attempt occaſioned, he eſcaped to his camp.

But at laſt the two kings, reſolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arſinoe, the ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the ſoldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her huſband even during the heat of the engagement. The iſſue of it was: Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilſt hurried on by an inconſiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the purſuit: Ptolemy who had been as ſucceſsful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's center in flank, which was then uncovered; and broke it before it was poſſible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who ſaw which way the duſt flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus obſerve it. But though he faced about that inſtant, he came too late to amend the fault; and found the reſt of his army broke and put to flight. He himſelf was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loſs of ten thouſand men killed, and four thouſand taken priſoners. Finding it would now be impoſſible for him to continue the campaign againſt Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conqueſts, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the

ſame time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the conſul on the banks of the lake Thraſymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine ſubmitted with great chearfulneſs to Ptolemy. Having been long ſubject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was ſoon crouded with ambaſſadors from all the cities (and from Judæa among the reſt) to pay homage to, and offer him preſents; and all met with a gracious reception.

[q] Ptolemy was deſirous of making a progreſs through the conquered provinces, and, among others cities, he viſited Jeruſalem. He ſaw the * temple there, and even offered ſacrifices to the GOD of Iſrael; making at the ſame time oblations, and beſtowing conſiderable gifts. However, not being ſatisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was determined to enter the ſanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies; to which no one was allowed acceſs but the high-prieſt, and that but once every year, on the day of the great expiation. The report of this being ſoon ſpread, occaſioned a great tumult. The high-prieſt informed him of the holineſs of the place; and the expreſs law of GOD, by which he was forbid to enter it. The prieſts and Levites drew together in a body to oppoſe his raſh deſign, which the people alſo conjured him to lay aſide. And now all places echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be expoſed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands to implore heaven not to ſuffer it. However,

[q] Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

* The third book of Maccabees, whence this ſtory is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of ſcripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two firſt. Dr. Prideaux, ſpeaking of the third book, ſays, that the ground-work of the ſtory is true, though the author changed ſome circumſtances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.

ever, all this oppoſition, inſtead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curioſity the more. He forced in as far as the ſecond court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itſelf, GOD ſtruck him with a ſudden terror, which threw him into ſuch prodigious diſorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exaſperated againſt the Jewiſh nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year raiſed a cruel perſecution, eſpecially againſt the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worſhip falſe deities.

[r] The inſtant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived in Antioch, he ſent an embaſſy to Ptolemy, to ſue for peace. The circumſtance which prompted him to this was, his ſuſpecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much leſſened ſince his laſt defeat. Beſides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progreſs he made, which increaſed daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that ſide, he concluded that it would be ſafeſt for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy; to avoid being oppoſed by two ſuch powerful enemies, who, invading him on both ſides would certainly overpower him at laſt. He therefore inveſted his ambaſſadors with full powers to give up to Ptolemy all thoſe provinces which were the ſubject of their conteſt, *i. e.* Cœloſyria and Paleſtine. Cœloſyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Paleſtine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Iſrael; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus conſented to reſign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchaſe a peace at this juncture;

[r] Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron in Daniel, c. 11.

juncture; chooſing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the loſing them all. A truce was therefore agreed for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the ſame terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory for conquering all Syria, was deſirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himſelf entirely to his pleaſures. His ſubjects, knowing his want of ſpirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been poſſible for him to have been ſo ſucceſsful; and at the ſame time they were diſpleaſed at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The diſcontent they conceived on this account, was the chief ſource of the diſorders in Egypt, which at laſt roſe to an open rebellion: So that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himſelf in the centre of his own dominions.

[f] Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war againſt Achæus, and made all the preparations neceſſary for taking the field. At laſt he paſſed mount Taurus, and entered Aſia Minor with an intention to ſubdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces againſt their common enemy. They attacked him with ſo much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and ſhut himſelf up in Sardis to which Antiochus laying ſiege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made ſallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At laſt, by a ſtratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken, Achæus, retired into the citadel where he defended himſelf, till he was delivered up by two traiterous Cretans. This

[f] A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

This fact confirms the truth of the proverb, which ſaid that the * "Cretans were liars and knaves."

[s] Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very ſorry for his being ſo cloſely blocked up in the caſtle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Soſibes to relieve him at any price whatſoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a conſiderable time at Sardis. Soſibes conſulted this man, and aſked whether he could not think of ſome method for Achæus's eſcape. The Cretan deſired time to conſider of it; and returning to Soſibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was alſo his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troop in Antiochus's ſervice: that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the caſtle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus eſcape that way. His project being approved, he was ſent with the utmoſt ſpeed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten † talents were given him to defray his expences, &c. and a much more conſiderable ſum promiſed him in caſe he ſucceeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when thoſe two miſcreants agree (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their deſign to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themſelves had determined, to play their parts ſo well, that inſtead of procuring Achæus's eſcape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a conſiderable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

[t] Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promiſed them a reward that ſufficed to engage

[s] Polyb. l. viii. p. 522—531. [t] A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία. St. Paul. Epiſt. ad Tit. i. 12.

† Ten thouſand French crowns.

gage them to do him that important ſervice. Upon this Bolis, by Cambilus's aſſiſtance, eaſily got admiſſion into the caſtle, where the credentials he produced from Soſibes, and ſome other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he truſted himſelf to thoſe two wretches, who, the inſtant he was out of the caſtle, ſeiſed and delivered him to Antiochus. This king cauſed him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Aſia; for the moment thoſe who ſtill ſuſtained the ſiege heard of Achæus's death, they ſurrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Aſia did the ſame.

Rebels very ſeldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of ſuch traitors ſtrikes us with horror, and raiſes our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himſelf worthy of it by his infidelity to his ſovereign.

[x] It was about this time that the diſcontent of the Egyptians againſt Philopator began to break out. According to Polybius, it occaſioned a civil war; but neither himſelf nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

[y] We alſo read in Livy, that the Romans ſome time after ſent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, (doubtleſs the ſame queen who before was called Arſinoe) to renew their ancient friendſhip and alliance with Egypt. Theſe carried as a preſent to the king, a robe and purple tunick, with an ivory* chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple ſcarf. Such kind of preſents ſhow the happy ſimplicity which in thoſe ages prevailed among the Romans.

[z] Philopator had at this time by † Arſinoe, his

 wife

[x] Polyb. l. v. p. 444. [y] A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4. [z] A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 4.

* This was allowed in Rome to none but the higheſt officers in the ſtate.

† Juſtin calls her Eurydice. In caſe he is not miſtaken, this queen had three names, Arſinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was

wife and ſiſter, a ſon called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who ſucceeded him at five years of age.

[a] Philopator, from the ſignal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himſelf to pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He ſpent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the moſt infamous irregularities. His nights were paſſed in debauches, and his days in feaſts and diſſolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, inſtead of applying himſelf to the affairs of ſtate, he valued himſelf upon preſiding in concerts, and playing upon inſtruments. The * women diſpoſed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had leſs authority in the kingdom than the prince himſelf. Soſibes, an old, artful miniſter, who had ſerved during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the adminiſtration; not indeed entirely in the manner he deſired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was ſo wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the moſt unjuſt commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

[b] Arſinoe, the king's ſiſter and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime miniſter did not ſhow her the leaſt reſpect. On the other ſide, the queen was not patient enough to ſuffer every thing without murmuring; and they at laſt

[a] A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1 & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. l. xv. xvi. [b] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As archbiſhop Uſher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inſerted it there in the firſt edition of this work. But as Joſephus, from whom it is taken, ſays, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus the ſon of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as Dean Prideaux does alſo; that is to ſay, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, 187 years before Jeſus Chriſt.

* *Tribunatus, præfecturas, & ducatus, mulieres ordinabant; nec quiſquam in regno ſuo minus, quam ipſe rex, poterat.* JUSTIN.

laſt grew weary of her complaints. The king, and thoſe who governed him, commanded Soſibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpoſe one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in ſuch cruel and barbarous aſſaſſinations.

This laſt action added to ſo many more of the moſt flagrant nature, diſpleaſed the people ſo much, that Soſibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was ſucceeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had ſignalized himſelf in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the chooſing a prime miniſter. Soſibes reſigned to him the king's ſeal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the ſeveral functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he diſcovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualities neceſſary for ſupporting ſo great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predeceſſor. As he had the adminiſtration of all the finances, and diſpoſed of all the honours and dignities of the ſtate, and all payments paſſed through his hands, every body, as is uſual, was aſſiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but then his bounty was beſtowed without choice or diſcernment, and almoſt ſolely on thoſe who ſhared in his parties of pleaſure. The extravagant flatteries of thoſe who were for ever crowding about his perſon, made him fancy his talents ſuperior to thoſe of all other men. He aſſumed haughty airs, gave into luxury and profuſion, and at laſt grew inſupportable to all the world.

The wars of the Eaſt have made me ſuſpend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance; we now return to them.

SECT. II. *The Ætolians declare againſt the Achæans. Battle of Caphyia loſt by Aratus. The Achæans addreſs Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republic joins with the Ætolians.*

[c] THE Ætolians, particularly in the time we are now ſpeaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the ſtrait of the gulph of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, ſurnamed Ozolæ. But, in proceſs of time, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral cities in Acarnania, Theſſaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the ſame life upon land as pirates do at ſea, that is, they exerciſed themſelves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not conſider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire ſtrangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They ſignalized themſelves particularly in the war againſt the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece; and ſhowed themſelves zealous defenders of the public liberty againſt the Macedonians. The increaſe of their power had made them haughty and inſolent. That haughtineſs appeared in the anſwer they gave the Romans, when they ſent ambaſſadors to order them not to infeſt Acarnania. They expreſſed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or [d] Juſtin his epitomizer, the higheſt contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a ſhameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by fratricide, and formed by an aſſemblage of women raviſhed from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always diſtinguiſhed

[c] Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331 & 746. Pauſan. l. x. p. 650.
[d] Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 2.

guiſhed themſelves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and deſcent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his ſon had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would not do well to rouſe the Ætolians againſt them; a people whoſe arms had extirpated the Gauls, and deſpiſed the Macedonians. The reader may, from this ſpeech, form a judgement of the Ætolians, of whom much will be ſaid in the ſequel.

[e] From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had loſt his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selaſia, had in ſome meaſure reſtored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, who were tired by the firſt wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the ſame foot, had laid their arms aſide, and totally neglected military diſcipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was inſupportable to them, as it obliged them to ſubſiſt at their own expence, accuſtomed as they were to ſupport themſelves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infeſting their neighbours; but, after his death, deſpiſing Philip, becauſe of his youth, they marched into Peloponneſus ſword in hand, and laid waſte the territories of the Meſſenians. Aratus, exaſperated at this perfidy and inſolence, and ſeeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, becauſe his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to ſucceed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the ſooner to the aid of the Meſſenians. [f] Accordingly, having aſſembled the Achæans, whoſe vigour and ſtrength had ſuffered by repoſe and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus

e Polyb. l. iv. p. 272—292. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.
f A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

Aratus was charged with being the cauſe of this defeat, and not without ſome foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loſs of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that, however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he aſked pardon; and intreated that his actions might be examined with leſs rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occaſion, changed the minds of the whole aſſembly, whoſe fury now turned againſt his accuſers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counſel. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; ſo that he behaved as a wiſe citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to diſtreſs them, he took no advantage of them, but ſuffered that people to lay waſte the whole country almoſt with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their aſſiſtance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his laſt moments, had, above all things, intreated Philip to keep well with Aratus; and to follow his counſel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had ſent him into Peloponneſus, to form himſelf under his eye, and by his counſels. Aratus gave him the beſt reception in his power; treated him with the diſtinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to inſtil into him ſuch principles and ſentiments, as might enable him to govern with wiſdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the higheſt ſentiments of eſteem for Aratus, and the moſt favourable diſpoſition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whoſe intereſt it was to remove a perſon of Aratus's known probity, in order to have the

the ſole aſcendant over their young prince, made that monarch ſuſpect his conduct: and prevailed ſo far, as to make him declare openly againſt Aratus. Nevertheleſs, finding ſoon after that he had been impoſed upon, he puniſhed the informers with great ſeverity, the ſole means to baniſh for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and ſometimes money, raiſe up and arm againſt perſons of the moſt conſummate virtue. Philip afterwards repoſed the ſame confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and reſolved to be guided by his counſels only; which was manifeſt on ſeveral occaſions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. [g] That unhappy city was perpetually torn by ſeditions, in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens, were killed, becauſe they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Sparta at Tegea, whither he had ſent for them. In the council he held there, ſeveral were of opinion, that he ſhould treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that propoſal with horror, and contented himſelf with puniſhing the principal authors of the inſurrection. Such an inſtance of moderation and wiſdom in a king, who was but ſeventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was perſuaded, that it was owing to the good counſels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the ſame uſe of them.

[h] Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities againſt the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimouſly declared againſt them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the ſame time that Hannibal was meditating the ſiege of Saguntum. This decree was ſent to all the cities, and ratified in the general aſſembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other ſide, prepared for war, and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raiſed,

[g] Polyb. p. 292—294. [h] Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—299.

raiſed, and the havoc they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilſt they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the neceſſary military preparations. He endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by the aid of his allies, few of whom anſwered his views; colouring their delays with falſe and ſpecious pretences. He alſo ſent to king Ptolemy, to entreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

[i] Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiouſneſs prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheleſs Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made uſe of Cleomenes: for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the ſoldiery, he contracted a ſtricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his moſt ſecret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were conſulted. Cleomenes was the only perſon who oppoſed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any miniſters more zealous for his ſervice, or more obliged to aid him in ſuſtaining the weighty burthen of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time: but Ptolemy's fears and ſuſpicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occaſioned them. [k] After this he thought himſelf ſecure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; becauſe Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other ſucceſſors but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he deſpiſed on account of their minority. In this ſecurity he devoted himſelf entirely to all ſorts of pleaſures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor thoſe who had employments

i A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Plut. in Cleo. p. 820—823.
k Polyb. l. v. p. 380—385.

ployments in the ſtate, dared to approach him; and he would ſcarce deign to beſtow the leaſt attention to what paſſed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predeceſſors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being poſſeſſed of Cœloſyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by ſea and land. As the moſt conſiderable cities, the poſts and harbours which lie along the coaſt from Pamphylia to the Helleſpont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lyſimachia, were ſubject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Aſia, and even on the iſlands. How would it have been poſſible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilſt they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a ſtill greater diſtance? With ſo extenſive a dominion, and ſo many ſtrong places, which ſerved them as barriers, their own kingdom was ſecure. They therefore had always great reaſon to keep a watchful eye over what was tranſacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, diſdained to give himſelf that trouble; wine and women being his only pleaſure and employment.

With ſuch diſpoſitions, the reader will eaſily ſuppoſe that he could have no great eſteem for Cleomenes. The inſtant the latter had news of Antigonus's death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter againſt the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things ſeemed to recall him to his native country, he ſolicited earneſtly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war ſufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his requeſt, he deſired that he at leaſt might be ſuffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repoſſeſſing himſelf of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed

in his pleaſures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's intreaties.

Soſibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, aſſembled his friends; and in this council a reſolution was formed, not to furniſh Cleomenes either with a fleet or proviſions. They believed that a needleſs expence; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had ſeemed to them of no importance. Beſides, this council were apprehenſive that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppoſe Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conqueſt of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: What increaſed their fears was, his having thoroughly ſtudied the ſtate of the kingdom, his knowing its ſtrong and weak ſide, his having the king in the utmoſt contempt, and ſeeing a great many parts of the kingdom ſeparated and at a great diſtance, which an enemy might have a thouſand opportunities of invading. For theſe reaſons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other ſuccours he deſired. On the other ſide, to give ſo bold and enterpriſing a prince leave to depart, after having refuſed him in ſo contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Soſibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even ſafe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the ſubject of the debate, that prime miniſter was afraid leſt this prince ſhould prevail with the foreign ſoldiers to make an inſurrection: "I anſwer for them," ſays Cleomenes, ſpeaking of thoſe of Peloponneſus: "and you may depend, that upon the firſt ſignal I give, they all will take up arms in your favour." This made Soſibes heſitate no longer: on a fictitious accuſation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himſelf had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to

ſeiſe

ſeiſe his perſon, and to impriſon him in a ſecure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of ſeeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepeſt affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed ſuch a reſolution, in concert with thoſe friends who uſed to viſit him, as deſpair only could ſuggeſt; and this was, to return the injuſtice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to ſtir up his ſubjects againſt him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as ſtalled victims, till it was thought proper to ſacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the priſon, they all ran in a body, with drawn ſwords, into all the ſtreets, exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and ſome other noblemen who came to oppoſe them; and afterwards ran to the citadel with intention to force the gates of it, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty; but they found theſe ſhut and ſtrongly barricadoed. Cleomenes, now loſt to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a ſoul either followed or oppoſed him; but all fled through fear. But ſeeing it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed in their enterpriſe, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's ſwords, to avoid the infamy of puniſhment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning ſixteen years over Sparta. The king cauſed his body to be hanged on a croſs, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princeſs was brought to the place of execution, the only favour ſhe aſked was, that ſhe might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itſelf; after which ſhe preſented her neck to the executioner, ſay-

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ing only theſe words, "Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you come?"

The deſign of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient diſcipline, was certainly very laudable in itſelf: And both had reaſon to think, that in a ſtate wholly infected and corrupted as that of Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuſes one after another, and remedy diſorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra; and therefore that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to root up the evil at one blow. However I cannot ſay whether Plato's maxim * ſhould not take place here, *viz.* that nothing ſhould be attempted in a ſtate, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means: and that violence ſhould never be employed. Are there not ſome diſeaſes in which medicines would only haſten death? And have not † ſome diſorders gained ſo great an aſcendant in a ſtate, that to attempt a reformation at ſuch a time, would only diſcover the impotency of the magiſtrates and laws? But, a circumſtance which admits of no excuſe in Cleomenes, is, his having, againſt all the laws of reaſon and juſtice, murthered the Ephori, in order to get ſucceſs to his enterpriſe; a conduct abſolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king; and which at the ſame time ſeemed to give a ſanction to thoſe tyrants, who afterwards made ſuch wild havoc in Lacedæmonia. And, indeed, Cleomenes himſelf had been called a tyrant by ſome hiſtorians, with whom they even began ‡ the ſucceſſion of tyrants.

[1] During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings,

[1] Polyb. l. iv. p. 301.

* *Jubet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer ſequor, Tantum condendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis poſſis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere.* Cic. l. i. Epiſt. 9. ad Famil.

† *Decebat omittere potius prævalida & adulta vitia, quam hoc adſequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares eſſemus.* Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 53.

‡ *Poſt mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmone fuit.* Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 26.

kings, from the hopes they entertained, that he would return again; and had always preserved the higheſt eſteem and veneration for him. But, as ſoon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They firſt nominated Ageſipolis, a child, deſcended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they choſe Lycurgus, none of whoſe anceſtors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a * talent, which was putting the crown to ſale at a very low price. They ſoon had reaſon to repent their choice, which was in direſt oppoſition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which oppoſed Philip openly, and committed the moſt enormous violence in the city, had preſided in this election; and immediately after, they cauſed Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECT. III. *Various expeditions of Philip againſt the enemies of the Achæans. Apelles, his prime miniſter, abuſes his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the firſt aſſault. Exceſſes of Philip's ſoldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Puniſhment of thoſe who had occaſioned them. Inroad of Philip into Laconia. The conſpirators form new cabals. Puniſhment inflicted on them. A peace is propoſed between Philip and the Achæans on one ſide, and the Ætolians on the other, which at laſt is concluded.*

[m] WE have already related, that Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth where their general aſſembly was held, and that there war had been unanimouſly declared againſt the Ætolians. The king returned

[m] Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—306. * A thouſand crowns.

turned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been obſerved, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whoſe ally he was, had broke their engagements with him, by refuſing to give him a certain ſhare of the ſpoils they had made at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

[n] Demetrius of Pharos joined alſo with Philip. We have already ſeen that the Romans, in whoſe favour he had declared at firſt, had beſtowed on him ſeveral of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of thoſe petty princes had conſiſted hitherto in the ſpoils they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories ſubject to them. Beſides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had failed, on the ſame deſign, beyond the cities of Iſſus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty, concluded with queen Teuta. For theſe reaſons the Romans declared war againſt Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, diſpoſſeſſed him of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and beſieged him in Pharos, from whence he eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. The city ſurrendered to the Romans. [o] Demetrius, being diſpoſſeſſed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon ſent ambaſſadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However Philip, who revolved at that time the deſign which broke out ſoon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius ſpent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the ſame time raſh and inconſiderate in his enterpriſes; and

[n] Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174. Lib. iv. p. 285—305—330.
[o] Liv. l. xxii. n. 33.

and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a conſiderable war, ſent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very chearfully, though at their great danger, as they lay neareſt the Ætolians, and conſequently were moſt expoſed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praiſes their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not ſhow ſo much good will, and ſeemed deſirous of continuing neuter: Nevertheleſs, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies were alſo ſent to king Ptolemy to deſire him not to aſſiſt the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Meſſenians, for whoſe ſake that war had been firſt begun, no way anſwered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, viz. of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at firſt for the Achæans; but the contrary faction cauſed the decree to be reverſed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occaſion, as I have ſaid before, that Ageſipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, ſon of the great Aratus, was at that time ſupreme magiſtrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the ſame over the Ætolians.

[p] Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. Having croſſed Theſſaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the requeſt of the Epirots, he laid ſiege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havoc, and returned in a very ſhort time laden with ſpoils, which

[p] Polyb. l. iv. p. 325—330.

which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and ſeiſing on a great number of important fortreſſes. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians * intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he promiſed the ambaſſadors of the Achæans to return ſoon to their aſſiſtance. His ſudden arrival diſconcerted the Dardanians, and put a ſtop to their enterpriſe. He then returned to Theſſaly, with an intention to paſs the reſt of the ſummer in Lariſſa.

[q] In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had juſt before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waſte all the open country, and did not ſpare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Lariſſa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the leaſt notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his ſon, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thouſand natives of Elis, to lay waſte the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except an hundred were either killed or taken priſoners.

The King, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces, at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Pſophis † in order to beſiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almoſt impregnable, as well from its natural ſituation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion that

q Polyb. l. iv. p. 330—336.

* Theſe people were neighbours of Macedonia, on the north of that kingdom. † A city of Arcadia.

that no one would, or even could, attack them: Philip, however, did it with ſucceſs; for, firſt the city, and afterwards the citadel, ſurrendered after making ſome reſiſtance. As they were very far from expecting to be beſieged, the want of ammunition and proviſions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generouſly to the Achæans, to whom it was of the moſt ſignal ſervice; aſſuring them that there was nothing he deſired more than to oblige them; and to give them the ſtrongeſt proofs of his zeal and affection for their intereſt. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after poſſeſſing himſelf of ſome other cities, which he alſo gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waſte. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flouriſhing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted ſacred, on account of the Olympic games ſolemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infeſt or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themſelves been the occaſion of their loſing that privilege, becauſe, like other ſtates, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very conſiderable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

[r] Among the ſeveral courtiers of king Philip, Apelles held the chief rank, and had a great aſcendant over his ſovereign, whoſe governor he had been: but, as generally happens on theſe occaſions, he very much abuſed his power, which he employed wholly in oppreſſing particular perſons and ſtates. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the ſame condition in which Theſſaly was at that time; that is, to ſubject them abſolutely to the commands of the miniſters of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain ſhadow of liberty: and to accuſtom

[r] Polyb. l. iv. p. 338, 339.

cuſtom them to the yoke, he ſpared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exaſperated upon that account; and accordingly aſſured him, he would give ſuch orders, that nothing of that kind ſhould happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderneſs towards a ſtateſman, who having ſo ſhamefully abuſed his maſter's confidence, had therefore deſerved to be entirely diſgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip ſhowed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and ſecurity, were continually beſtowing the higheſt encomiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And, indeed, he poſſeſſed all thoſe which can endear a king to his people; ſuch as a lively genius, an happy memory, eaſy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aſpect, heightened by a noble and majeſtic air, which ſtruck the beholders with awe and reſpect; a ſweetneſs of temper, affability, and a deſire to pleaſe univerſally; to finiſh the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: So that one can hardly conceive the ſtrange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

[s] Philip having poſſeſſed himſelf of Aliphera, a very ſtrong city, the greateſt part of the people of that country, aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of his conqueſts, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, ſubmitted to his arms. Thus he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all Triphylia.

[t] At this time, Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whoſe head they had placed it, reſolved to diſpoſſeſs him of it, and ſet it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori who

[s] Polyb. l. iv. p. 339—343. [t] Idem. p. 343, 344.

who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's houſe, intending to kill him; but, hearing the tumult, he had made his eſcape. Chilo then went into the great ſquare of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the ſame time, the greateſt promiſes. Seeing, however, that he could make no impreſſion on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he ſentenced himſelf to baniſhment, and retired to Achaia. It is ſurpriſing to ſee Sparta, formerly ſo jealous of its liberty, and miſtreſs of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and inſurrections, and ignominiouſly ſubjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not ſo much as ſuffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and eſpecially their introducing gold and ſilver into Sparta; which drew after them, by inſenſible degrees, the luſt of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all thoſe vices which are generally inſeparable from riches.

"Philip, being arrived at Argos, ſpent the reſt of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aſide the deſign he meditated of enſlaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, was an invincible obſtacle to his project. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to get rid of him; for this purpoſe he ſent privately for all thoſe who were his ſecret enemies, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his diſcourſes with him, he hinted, that ſo long as Aratus ſhould enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much ſubject to their laws and uſages as the meaneſt of their citizens; whereas, were he to raiſe to the chief adminiſtration of affairs ſome perſon who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as ſovereign, and govern others, inſtead of being

[u] Polyb. l. iv. p. 344—349.

being himſelf governed. The new friends inforced theſe reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of deſpotic power pleaſed the young king; and indeed it is the ſtrongeſt temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpoſe to Ægium, where the aſſembly of the ſtates was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed ſo far by his promiſes and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime miniſter, he did not perceive that he degraded himſelf in the moſt ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free aſſemblies, ſuch as thoſe of Greece, than to make the leaſt attempt in violation of the freedom of election.

A perſon being choſen entirely unworthy of the poſt, as is commonly the caſe in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was univerſally deſpiſed. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were haſtening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miſcarriages, became ſenſible that very pernicious counſels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourſe to Aratus, and re-inſtated him entirely in his friendſhip and confidence; and perceiving that after this ſtep his affairs flouriſhed viſibly, and that his reputation and power increaſed daily, he would not make uſe of any counſel, but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after ſuch evident and repeated proofs, on one ſide, of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully ſenſible which of the two had the moſt ſincere zeal to his ſervice? The ſequel, however, will ſhew, that jealouſy never dies but with

with the object that excited it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: That he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: And on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations in presence of the man whom he charged with them: and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge. That a justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict inquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him, especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus's demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time

time paſſed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: But how would it have been poſſible for him to do that? An unforeſeen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dyma, whither Philip was come to ſettle ſome affairs. Aratus ſnatched the opportunity; and begged the king himſelf to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's requeſt, and found that there was not the leaſt grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any puniſhment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; ſo that he continued his ſecret intrigues, in order to remove thoſe who gave him the leaſt umbrage. Beſides, Apelles, there were four other perſons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the ſame time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and aſſigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent thoſe cabals which are almoſt inſeparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of theſe noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the two other, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the ſame aſcendant over them; the former of the two laſt preſided over the affairs of Peloponneſus, and the ſecond had the command of the guards. Now the prime miniſter wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wiſh them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them: For, ſays Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themſelves into all ſhapes, and employ either praiſe or ſlander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and ſpeak of him as a man worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: He did this in the view of detaining

taining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus (a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he represented him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected; in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will show hereafter, what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him commit the blackest and most abominable injustice in the person of Aratus, and even extend his criminal designs to the king himself.

[x] I before observed, that Philip having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and councils he went to the assembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent necessity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was made to furnish him with fifty * talents, the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months' pay for his soldiers, and ten thousand measures of wheat: And, that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen † talents a month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncer-

tainty

[x] Polyb. l. v. p. 350—365.

* Fifty thousand crowns. † Seventeen thousand crowns.

tainty they muſt be under, with regard to the ſide on which they ſhould be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilſt the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the ſeveral exerciſes of the ſea-ſervice, Apelles, who found his credit diminiſh, and was exaſperated to ſee the counſels of Aratus followed, and not his, took ſecret meaſures to defeat all the king's deſigns. His view was to make himſelf neceſſary to his ſovereign; and to force him by the ill poſture of his affairs, to throw himſelf into the arms of a miniſter who was beſt acquainted with, and then actually in the adminiſtration of them. How villainous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidents, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they ſhould be intruſted. As for himſelf, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having ſome affairs to tranſact there; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he ſtopped the convoys of money which were ſending to the king; and thereby reduced him to ſuch neceſſity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to ſubſiſt himſelf and his houſehold.

Philip, having put to ſea, arrived the ſecond day at Patræ; and ſailing from thence to * Cephalenia, laid ſiege to Palcis, a city whoſe ſituation would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms; and enable him to infeſt the territories of his enemies. He cauſed the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to theſe, they propped and ſupported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards ſet fire, and then retired; when preſently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible

* An iſland in the Ionian ſea.

dible ardour, they very ſoon made a breach of ſix hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himſelf ever ſo little, the city would certainly have been taken: But he attacked the enemy very faintly, ſo that he was repulſed, loſt a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had ſent Lycurgus with ſome troops into Meſſenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Theſſaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diverſion, to lay aſide his enterpriſe. Deputies had arrived ſoon from the Acarnanians and Meſſenians. Philip, having raiſed the ſiege, aſſembled his council, to debate on which ſide he ſhould turn his arms. The Meſſenians repreſented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be ſo ſuddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very ſtrongly. His ſecret reaſon was, that as it would be impoſſible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to ſtay there, by which means the campaign would be ſpent, and nothing done. The Arcanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops: Declaring, that the whole country might be laid waſte without the leaſt reſiſtance; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis, began to ſuſpect Leontius, went thither alſo.

Having provided for the urgent neceſſities of the Meſſenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the ſecond day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment, to rid themſelves of the greateſt

part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a ſtrong guard, ſet out from Limnæa: and marching about ſixty furlongs he halted, to give his army ſome refreſhment and reſt. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius adviſed the king to halt for ſome time, giving for his reaſon, that as the ſoldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath, but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is ſwift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifeſtly traiterous, conjured Philip to ſeiſe the favourable moment, and march out that inſtant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to ſuſpect him, ſets out that inſtant, eroſſes the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almoſt impervious road cut between very ſteep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and ſolemn aſſemblies, as well for the worſhip of the gods, as for the election of magiſtrates. As this city was thought impregnable, becauſe of the advantage of its ſituation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætolians uſed to leave their richeſt effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very ſafe. But how great muſt be their ſurpriſe, when, at the cloſe of the day, they ſaw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immenſe ſpoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was reſolved that the moſt valuable effects ſhould be carried away; and making a heap of the reſt, at the head of the camp, they ſet fire to that pile. They did the ſame with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the beſt were laid by for ſervice, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of

fifteen thouſand, were burnt to aſhes. Hitherto every thing which had been tranſacted was juſt, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not ſtop here. Tranſported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they ſet fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were ſome of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not ſatisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The ſtatues, of which there were at leaſt two thouſand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broke to pieces; and thoſe only ſpared which were known, by their form or inſcriptions, to repreſent gods. They wrote the following verſe on the walls:

Remember Dium; Dium ſends you this.

Doubtleſs, the horror with which the ſacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium inſpired Philip and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commiſſion of the like crimes; and that they were then making juſt repriſals. However, ſays Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwiſe. To ſupport his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whoſe conduct he here cenſures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Sparta, ſo far from extending his rage to the temples and ſacred things, did not even make thoſe he had conquered feel the effects of it; on the contrary, he reſtored to them the form of government which they had received from their anceſtors, and treated them with the higheſt teſtimonies of kindneſs and friendſhip. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its ſplendour, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them ſenſible of his power and victory by no other marks than his benefi-

cence; reſtoring their priſoners without ranſom; himſelf taking care even of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to ſuch of the priſoners as were moſt in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury againſt Thebes, which he razed to the ground, ſo far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to ſuffer his ſoldiers (even through imprudence) to do the leaſt injury to the temples, and other ſacred places: And a circumſtance ſtill more worthy our admiration; in his war with the Perſians, who had plundered and burned moſt of the temples in Greece, Alexander ſpared and reverenced all places dedicated to the worſhip of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his anceſtors ſet him, had ſtrove to ſhow himſelf their ſucceſſor more in moderation and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demoliſh cities and citadels; to fill up harbours, to take men and ſhips, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to leſſen the ſtrength of the enemy and increaſe his own: But to deſtroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break ſtatues and ſuch ornaments of a city in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildeſt and moſt extravagant fury can be capable of ſuch violence. It is not merely to ruin and deſtroy thoſe who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in caſe we deſire to be thought juſt and equitable; but only to oblige ſuch people to acknowledge, and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the ſame ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to ſave both. Theſe are the ſentiments of a ſoldier and an heathen.

Though

Though Philip, on this occaſion, ſhowed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to ſea, was to go and ſurpriſe the city of Thermæ, during the abſence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his deſign, he took ſo large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and which prevented their ſeiſing ſome paſſes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been ſtopped ſhort. Some rivers were to be paſſed: It was neceſſary for them to make the utmoſt haſte, and turn ſhort upon Ætolia, by a ſwift counter-march. This Philip does without liſtening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the ſtraits without meeting the leaſt obſtacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the ſkies; ſo well he had concealed and haſtened his march, of which the enemy do not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To ſecure it, he had ſeiſed upon ſeveral important poſts; expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precautions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterpriſe ſo well concerted, ſo ſecretly carried on, and executed with ſo much wiſdom and diſpatch, ſurpaſſes the abilities of ſo young a prince as Philip; and ſeems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exerciſed in all the arts and ſtratagems of war. We can ſcarce doubt (and Polybius ſeems to inſinuate it evidently enough) but that Aratus, as he had been the firſt contriver of ſo noble a project, was alſo the ſoul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already obſerved, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike ſtratagem, in forming extraordinary enterpriſes, and in giving ſucceſs to them by his bold counſels, than in executing them himſelf.

How

How happy is it for a young prince to poſſeſs a general of this character; prudent, able, verſed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of theſe qualities; to be perfectly ſenſible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taſte and opinion; and to let himſelf be guided by ſuch wiſe counſels. After the happy ſucceſs of an action, the perſon whoſe advice directed it vaniſhes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. [z] Plutarch, who advances what I have now ſaid, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to ſuffer himſelf to be guided by ſuch good counſels, and to Aratus for having ability to ſuggeſt them.

When Philip, who had marched back the ſame way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himſelf in repoſe and ſecurity, offered ſacrifices to the gods by way of thankſgiving, for the ſucceſs they had given to his arms; and made a ſplendid banquet for his officers, who were as ſtrongly affected as himſelf with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only perſons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their ſovereign. Every one ſoon perceived that they did not ſhare with the reſt of the company in the joy which ſo ſucceſsful an expedition muſt naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they diſcovered their animoſity againſt Aratus by the moſt injurious and moſt ſhocking railleries. But words were not all; for, at their riſing from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw ſtones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noiſe reaching the king, he cauſed an exact inquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty * talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into priſon. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of ſoldiers to the king's tent; perſuaded that he would be frightened at ſeeing

z. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049. * Twenty thouſand crowns.

ſeeing ſo great a body of men, and for that reaſon be prompted to change his reſolution. Being come into the king's preſence, "Who has been ſo bold," ſays he, "as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw him into priſon?" "It is I," anſwered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; ſo that, after venting a deep ſigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then ſet at liberty.

[a] During Philip's expedition againſt Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterpriſe againſt the Meſſenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a conſiderable body of Ætolians into Theſſaly, with an intention to lay waſte the country, and to oblige Philip to raiſe the ſiege of Paleis, in order to go and ſuccour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to haſten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmoſt expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almoſt incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ſhips in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and paſſing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had paſſed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they ſaw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected ſo ſuddenly. Some actions paſſed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I ſhall omit the particulars to avoid prolixity. Philip diſplayed, on all occaſions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition was almoſt as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waſte the whole country, and taking abundance

[a] Polyb. l. v. p. 365—372.

abundance of ſpoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found the ambaſſadors of Rhodes and Chio, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, diſſembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wiſhed, and ſtill did ſo, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to diſpoſe their maſters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in ſome more important enterpriſe.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who alſo was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandeſtine methods poſſible, to remove and deſtroy all thoſe who either oppoſed or were ſuſpected by them; and ſeeing with grief, that thoſe ſecret practices had not been as ſucceſsful as they had flattered themſelves, they therefore reſolved to make themſelves formidable even to their ſovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their intereſt. The greateſt part of their army had ſtaid in Corinth; and they imagined, that the abſence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their deſigns. They repreſented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the ſake of the public welfare they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt toils and dangers of war; that nevertheleſs juſtice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the diſtribution of plunder been obſerved with regard to them. The young people, fired by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, divide themſelves into bands, plunder the houſes of the greateſt courtiers, and carry their fury to that exceſs, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then aſſembles

bles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a ſpeech intermixed with gentleneſs and ſeverity, he makes them ſenſible of their fault. In the trouble and confuſion which reigned at that time, ſome declared that it would be neceſſary to ſeiſe and puniſh the promoters of this inſurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appeaſe them by gentle methods, and forget all that was paſt.

The king was ſtill young; ſo that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and ſoldiery. Thoſe againſt him enjoyed the greateſt poſts in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the ſtate; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the moſt inſinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole adminiſtration among themſelves. In ſo delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it adviſeable to come to an open rupture, leſt he ſhould inflame the minds of the people, by employing chaſtiſements at an unſeaſonable time. For this reaſon he ſtifled his reſentments, pretending to be very well ſatisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this inſurrection, it was not ſo eaſy for him to execute in Phocis the ſchemes he had projected.

Leontius having now loſt all hopes, after ſo many fruitleſs attempts, had recourſe to Apelles. He ſent courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his preſence immediately. That miniſter, during his ſtay in Chalcis, diſpoſed all things in the moſt deſpotic manner, and by that means was univerſally odious. According to him the king, being ſtill young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. It is certain that he arrogated to himſelf the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he ſhould think fit. The magiſtrates of Macedonia and Theſſaly, and the officers who enjoyed any em-

ployment, had recourſe to him only. In all the cities of Greece, ſcarce the leaſt mention was made of the king: for whether any reſolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments paſſed, or honours or preferments to be beſtowed, Apelles engroſſed and tranſacted all things.

Philip had long before been appriſed of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneaſineſs. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himſelf on this occaſion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irreſolution and ſervitude: But the king concealed his thoughts, and did not diſcover his reſolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was diſpoſed in regard to him, but perſuaded, on the contrary, that the inſtant he appeared before his ſovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the ſupport of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and ſplendor, and attended by a large body of officers and ſoldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as uſual. However, the officer who attended at the gate (having been inſtructed before) ſtopped him ſhort, and told him that his majeſty was buſy. Aſtoniſhed at ſo uncommon a reception, which he no ways expected, he conſidered for ſome time how he ought to behave, and at laſt withdrew in the utmoſt confuſion. * Nothing is ſo tranſient and frail as a borrowed power, not ſupported by foundations or ſtrength of its own. The ſhining train he had cauſed to follow him vaniſhed in an inſtant; and he arrived at his own houſe, followed only by his domeſtics. A lively image, ſays Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the moſt powerful courtiers

* *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum eſt, quam fama potentiæ non ſua vi nixæ.* TACIT. *Annal.* l. xiii. c. 19.

courtiers ought to dread. A few days ſuffice to ſhow their moſt exalted ſtate and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the higheſt, and the next of the moſt inconſiderable value: As princes pleaſe to extend or withdraw their favours, to-day they enjoy the greateſt credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of miſery and univerſal diſgrace. Megaleas, ſenſible of the ſtorm he himſelf might expect now the prime miniſter was diſgraced, thought of nothing but how he might beſt ſecure himſelf by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to ſee his accomplices pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to deſpair; whether he did not think his power ſtrong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from ſome remains of eſteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; ſtill allowed him the honour of his converſation ſometimes, and left him ſome other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of thoſe he uſed to invite to ſupper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magiſtrates offered him a houſe; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and ſpent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elſewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, he cauſed him to be thrown into priſon; the pretended reaſon of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas; but in reality to ſecure his perſon, and to ſound the diſpoſition of the troops. Leontius ſent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment ſent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with ſome new crime for which he deſerved to be impriſoned, they inſiſted that nothing might be decreed againſt him

but

but in their preſence: that if he refuſed them that favour, they ſhould look upon this refuſal as a contempt, and the higheſt injury; (ſuch was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of uſing with their king;) but that in caſe Leontius was impriſoned but for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that ſum among them. This teſtimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and haſten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambaſſadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to conſent to a thirty days' truce. Theſe aſſured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, deſiring them to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negociate a peace with the Ætolians. He himſelf ſet out immediately from Lechæum, in order to aſſiſt at it, and arrived there after two days ſail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the leaſt fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of ammunition and proviſions; to which he added expreſſions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading theſe letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, ſeiſed both him and his ſon; at the ſame time he ſent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded againſt there; however, he did not ſtay for his trial, but laid violent hands on himſelf. A little after Apelles and his ſon were alſo put to death.

I do not know whether hiſtory can furniſh us with a more remarkable example of the aſcendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young ſovereign, in order to ſatiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was entruſted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency eſtabliſhed

bliſhed by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one ſide, inſpired the young prince (as it naturally ſhould) with ſentiments of regard, eſteem, reſpect, and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles aſſume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aſide. Philip did not want wit, judgment, or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the ſame time was blind to all his maſter's faults. He had diſcovered, more than once, the mean jealouſy which Apelles entertained of conſpicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all ſuch of the king's ſubjects as were moſt capable of ſerving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppreſſions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and inſupportable. However, all this made no impreſſion, or but a very ſlight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime miniſter had gained ſuch an influence, that he even ſtood in fear of him. The reader has ſeen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

[b] In the mean time, the Ætolians wiſhed earneſtly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been fruſtrated. They had flattered themſelves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuſe him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wiſdom and reſolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterpriſes. But having heard of the inſurrection of the troops, and the conſpiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they poſtponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that ſome ſedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wiſhed for nothing more ardently,

[b] Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377.

dently, than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully ſeiſed the opportunity with which the enemies themſelves furniſhed him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous to continue the war. He afterwards ſet ſail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Theſſaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country: then coaſting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchreæ to * Demetrias, where he found Ptolemy, the only conſpirator that ſurvived; and cauſed ſentence of death to be paſſed upon him, in an aſſembly of Macedonians.

All theſe incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having ſubdued the greateſt part of Cœloſyria, had ſent his troops into winter-quarters. It was alſo then that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, in order to ſecure himſelf from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a falſe report that this king deſigned to embroil the ſtate, had aſſembled in the night, and inveſted his houſe, in order to ſeiſe his perſon. But Lycurgus, having ſome notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as ſoon as it was known that the ſuſpicions raiſed againſt him were all groundleſs. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time univerſally deſpiſed by the Achæans; no body obeyed his orders: and the country being open and defenceleſs, dreadful havoc was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no ſuccours, were reduced to the laſt extremity, and conſequently could ſcarce furniſh their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whoſe arrears was put off from day to day, ſerved as they were paid, and great numbers of them deſerted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader

* A city of maritime Theſſaly.

reader has ſeen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almoſt expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the ſpring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to ſucceed him.

[c] Philip, in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greateſt city in Peonia, and the moſt advantageouſly ſituated for making incurſions from Dardania in Macedonia; ſo that having poſſeſſed himſelf of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

[d] After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay ſiege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians uſed to make continual inroads, and at the ſame time commit great waſte in the territories of Demetrias, Pharſalia, and even Lariſſa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at laſt, the beſieged, fearing they ſhould be taken by ſtorm, ſurrendered the city. By this conqueſt, Philip ſecured Magneſia and Theſſaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambaſſadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and alſo from Ptolemy, to propoſe the concluding of a peace. Philip made the ſame anſwer as before, that it was what he very much deſired; and that they had only to inquire of the Ætolians, whether they alſo were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very deſirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himſelf.

He afterwards ſet out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. Whilſt he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had loſt a great battle in Tuſcany, near the lake Thraſymene, and that Hannibal was maſter of the open country. The king ſhowed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a ſtrict charge not to ſpeak of it.

The

[c] Polyb. l. v. p. 435. [d] A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217.

The latter took this opportunity to repreſent to him, that he ought to diſengage himſelf as ſoon as poſſible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards croſs into Italy. He added, that Greece, already ſubjected in all reſpects, would obey him no leſs afterwards; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, in his cauſe; that the Ætolians, quite depreſſed and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs in the preſent war, would not fail to follow their example; but if he was deſirous of the ſovereignty of the world, a noble ambition, which ſuited no prince better than himſelf, he muſt begin by conquering Italy; that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing ſo noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counſel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, ſucceſsful in his exploits, bold, enterpriſing, and who beſides was ſprung from a family which had always flattered itſelf with the hopes of univerſal empire.

Nevertheleſs as he was maſter of his temper, and governed his thoughts in ſuch a manner, as to diſcover only ſuch of them as promoted his intereſt (a very rare and valuable quality in ſo young a prince) he did not expreſs too great an inclination for peace, though he now earneſtly deſired it. He therefore only cauſed the allied ſtates to be told to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negociate a peace: and, at the earneſt inſtances of the Ætolians, ſoon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were ſo weary of the war, that there was no occaſion for long conferences. The firſt article which the king cauſed to be propoſed to the Ætolians, by the ambaſſadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts. The reſt of the articles were ſoon agreed upon; ſo that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their reſpective countries. This peace concluded

concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle loſt by the Romans near the lake Thraſymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia; all theſe events happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.[e]

In the firſt ſeparate conference held in preſence of the king and the ambaſſadors of the confederate powers, Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deſerve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his hiſtory. He ſays it were to be wiſhed, that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; that it would be a great bleſſing from the gods, if, breathing only the ſame ſentiments, they ſhould all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force, to ſecure themſelves from the inſults of the Barbarians. But if this was not poſſible, that at leaſt, in the preſent juncture, they ought to unite together, and conſult for the preſervation of all Greece. That, to be ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſuch an union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful ſtates actually engaged in war. That it was evident to every one who was ever ſo little verſed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themſelves to the empire of Italy and Sicily; but would doubtleſs extend their projects much farther. That all the Greeks in general, and eſpecially Philip, ought to keep a ſtrict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened. That this prince would have nothing to fear, if, inſtead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an eaſier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he ſhould labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himſelf as vigorouſly in the defence of all Greece, as if it was his own kingdom. That by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterpriſes;

[e] A. M. 3787.

enterprises; and, by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom. That if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprise; he need but turn his arms towards the west, and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy. That, provided he would only put himself into a condition for seising successfully the first opportunity that should present itself, all things would smooth the way for the universal empire. That, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season. That he ought especially to be careful to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper. That, in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiaticks and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans.

Some

Some alſo came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterpriſing genius of that prince, were afraid he ſhould come and add to the confuſion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the ſequel of this hiſtory is upon the point of ſhowing us.

SECT. IV. *Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a conſiderable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He cauſes Aratus to be poiſoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians, accede to it. Machanidas uſurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman prætor, in one of which Philopœmen ſignalizes himſelf.*

[f] THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greateſt powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were ſeparated from Italy only by the Adriatick ſea, now called the Gulph of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were ſpread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleaſed to ſee the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, the ſucceſs of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of thoſe powers it would be his intereſt to join. [g] But after Hannibal had gained three victories ſucceſſively, all his doubts were removed. He ſent ambaſſadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal

[f] Liv. l. xxiii. n. 33, 34, & 38. [g] A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216.

pal of the ambaſſadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the leaſt diſconcerted, anſwered with a reſolute tone of voice; that he had been diſpatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendſhip with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the conſuls, as well as the ſenate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, ſo powerful a monarch deſirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambaſſadors with all poſſible reſpect, and gave them a convoy for their ſafety. Being arrived in Campania, they eſcaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That "king Philip ſhould croſs into Italy with a fleet of "two hundred ſail, and lay waſte the ſea-coaſts; and "ſhould aſſiſt the Carthaginians both by ſea and "land. That the latter, at the concluſion of the "war, ſhould poſſeſs all Italy and Rome: and that "Hannibal ſhould have all the ſpoils. That after the "conqueſt of Italy, they ſhould croſs into Greece, "and there make war againſt any power the king "ſhould nominate; and that both the cities of the "continent, and the iſlands lying towards Macedonia, "ſhould be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his "dominion." Hannibal, on the other ſide, ſent ambaſſadors to Philip, for his ratification of it; and they ſet out with thoſe of Macedonia. I obſerved elſewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preſerved by [h] Polybius, expreſs mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as preſent at this treaty, and witneſſes to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were ſtipulated by this treaty.

The ambaſſadors, who ſet out together, were unhappily diſcovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes's lie would not do him the ſame ſervice as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air,

[h] Polyb. l. vii. p. 502—507.

air, their dreſs, and ſtill more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambaſſadors were carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked ſo vigorouſly by Hannibal) then were, and their diſcovering a new enemy, ſo very powerful as Philip, muſt neceſſarily alarm them prodigiouſly. But it is on ſuch occaſions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conſpicuous. For without expreſſing the leaſt perplexity or diſcouragement, they took all the meaſures neceſſary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambaſſadors, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Hannibal, which was more ſucceſsful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But theſe diſappointments prevented their forming any enterpriſe that year, and ſtill kept matters in ſuſpenſe.

[i] Philip was now wholly employed on his great deſign of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterpriſe: not ſo much out of zeal for the intereſt of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impoſſible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counſel that he had concluded a peace with moſt of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; ſo that even in his dreams he ſpoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and he would ſtart from his ſleep, in the greateſt agitation of mind, and covered with ſweat. This prince, who was ſtill young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterpriſes. The ſucceſs of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predeceſſors, kindled an ardour in him, which increaſed daily.

During

[i] Polyb. l. v. p. 439, & 445—447.

[k] During the winter ſeaſon, he thought of manning a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to tranſport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means ſurpriſe the enemies when they ſhould leaſt expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build an hundred, or an hundred and twenty veſſels for him; and after having exerciſed his Macedonians for ſome time in the naval diſcipline, he put to ſea. He firſt ſeiſed upon the city of Oricum, ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brunduſium, having advice of it, ſet ſail immediately with all the ſhips in readineſs for ſailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a ſlender garriſon, and ſent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid ſiege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia ſtands, marched through a by-way; and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians, imagining they were very ſecure, becauſe the ſea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war preſcribe, and the exactneſs of military diſcipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched ſilently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the ſoldiers aſleep. And now the cries of thoſe who were firſt attacked awaking the reſt, they all endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. The king himſelf, who was but half awake and almoſt naked, found it very difficult for him to eſcape to his ſhips. The ſoldiers crowded after him, and three thouſand of them were either killed or taken priſoners. Valerius, who ſtayed at Oricum, the inſtant he heard this news, had ſent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to ſhut up Philip. This prince, finding it impoſſible for him

[k] Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40.

him to advance forward, after ſetting fire to his ſhips, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the ſorrowful remains of his troops, who ſeemed more like priſoners diſarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

[1] For ſome time Philip, who till then had been admired for many of thoſe qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was aſcribed to the evil counſels of thoſe about him, who, to pleaſe him, were perpetually laviſhing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his paſſions, and ſuggeſting to him, that the grandeur of a king conſiſted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his ſubjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Inſtead of the gentleneſs, moderation, and wiſdom, he till then had diſplayed, he treated cities and ſtates, not only with pride and haughtineſs, but with cruelty and injuſtice; and having no longer as formerly his glory in view, he abandoned himſelf entirely to riot and exceſſes of every kind: the too common effect of flattery, whoſe ſubtle poiſon generally corrupts the beſt princes, and ſooner or later deſtroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with ſhame, would have abated his pride, and ſoftened his temper. But this only ſoured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was reſolved to revenge, on his ſubjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponneſus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the ſtratagems poſſible to overreach and ſurpriſe the Meſſenians. But his artifices being diſcovered, he pulled off the maſk, and laid waſte the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greateſt honour and probity, was exceedingly ſhocked at ſo flagrant an injuſtice, and made loud complaints

[1] Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518, 519.

complaints againſt it. He had before begun to retire inſenſibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the moſt diſſolute life: for he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law (a ſubject of the greateſt grief to him) and which, however, he had not once hinted to his ſon; from the conſideration, that it would not be of ſervice to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impoſſible but this rupture muſt make ſome noiſe, Philip, whom the greateſt crimes now coſt nothing, reſolved to rid himſelf of a troubleſome cenſor, whoſe very abſence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the reſpect paid to his virtue, would not ſuffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidents, to diſpatch him ſecretly during his abſence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having inſinuated himſelf into Aratus's familiarity and friendſhip, invited him ſeveral times to dinner, and at one of them poiſoned him; not with a violent and immediate poiſon, but with one of thoſe which lights up a ſlow fire in the body, conſumes it by inſenſible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives leſs notice.

Aratus knew very well the cauſe of his illneſs; but as complaints would not be of any ſervice to him, he bore it patiently, without once murmuring, as a common and natural diſeaſe. One day only, happening to ſpit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and ſeeing that his friend was ſurpriſed, he ſaid, "Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendſhip." He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the ſeventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing ſuch a magnificent mauſoleum

mauſoleum to his memory as might be worthy his great ſervices. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to feſtivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpſe from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and ſinging hymns and odes in honour of the deceaſed. They made choice of the higheſt part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preſerver of it, which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two ſolemn ſacrifices were offered him annually: The firſt, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which ſacrifice was called *Soteria:* and the other on his birth-day. During the ſacrifice, choirs of muſic ſung odes to the lyre; and the chief choriſter, at the head of the young men and children, walked in proceſſion round the altar. The ſenate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this proceſſion.

It muſt be owned that Aratus was one of the greateſt men of his time, and may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia: it was he at leaſt who brought it to the form and ſplendour it preſerved ſo long afterwards, and by which it became one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. However, he committed a conſiderable error, in calling in to the aſſiſtance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themſelves maſters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before obſerved, was an effect of his jealouſy of the great Cleomenes king of Sparta.

But he was fully puniſhed for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his ſon met with a ſtill more deplorable fate: for that prince, being become completely wicked, ſays Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poiſons, but by thoſe which deſtroy reaſon,

and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit ſuch abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his ſenſes: Inſomuch that, though he was at that time very young and in the bloom of life, his death was conſidered, not as a misfortune with regard to himſelf, but as the remedy and period of his miſeries.

[m] About this time Philip engaged in a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Illyrians. He had long deſired to poſſeſs himſelf of Liſſus; but believed it would be impoſſible for him ever to take the caſtle, which was ſo happily ſituated and ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. The city was ſeparated from the caſtle by a little valley; in that he obſerved a ſpot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuſcade. Here he poſted the flower of his troops. The next day he aſſaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themſelves with great bravery; and, for ſome time, the ſucceſs was equal on both ſides. At laſt they made a furious ſally, and charged the beſiegers with great vigour. The garriſon of the caſtle, ſeeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they ſhould infallibly defeat him; and being deſirous of ſharing in the plunder, moſt of them came out, and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the ſoldiers who lay in ambuſcade attacked the caſtle, and carried it without great reſiſtance. And now, the ſignal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and purſued the inhabitants as far as the city, which ſurrendered a few days after.

[n] M. Valerius Levinus, as prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very ſenſible that, in order to leſſen the forces of Philip, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to bring over ſome

[m] Polyb. l. viii. p. 519—521. A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.

[n] Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24—46.

ſome of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the moſt powerful) from his intereſt. He therefore began by ſounding, in private conferences, the diſpoſition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having aſſured himſelf of them, he went to the general aſſembly. There, after expatiating on the flouriſhing ſtate of the Romans, and proved it by their taking of Syracuſe in Sicily, and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generoſity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their conſtant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with ſo much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the firſt people in that part of the world who ſhould have concluded an alliance with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whoſe power would, in all probability, be of the moſt fatal conſequence to them. That the Romans had already humbled their pride, and would oblige them, not only to give up ſuch fortreſſes as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cauſe to fear for their own countries. That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the ſame conditions which had been preſcribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in caſe of their refuſal, would make them ſubmit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magiſtrate of the Ætolian ſtate; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greateſt credit and authority; ſtrongly enforced the arguments and promiſes of the prætor, and ſaid many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, becauſe they were not obliged to ſpeak as modeſtly on thoſe topics as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who ſpoke for the intereſts of his country. The circumſtance which affected them moſt was, the hopes of their poſſeſſing themſelves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was

concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the ſame conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, "That the Ætolians ſhould declare "war as ſoon as poſſible againſt Philip: That the Ro- "mans ſhould furniſh them, at leaſt, twenty-five gallies, "*quinqueremes*, or of five benches of oars: That ſuch "cities as ſhould be taken from Ætolia, as far as the "iſland of * Corcyra, ſhould be poſſeſſed by the Æto- "lians, and all the ſpoils and captives by the Romans: "that the Romans ſhould aid the Ætolians in making "themſelves maſters of Acarnania: that the Ætolians "ſhould not be allowed to conclude a peace with "Philip, but upon condition that he ſhould be "obliged to withdraw his troops out of the territories "of the Romans, and thoſe of their allies; nor the "Romans with Philip, but on the ſame terms." Immediately hoſtilities commenced. Philip was diſpoſſeſſed of ſome cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully perſuaded that the king had ſo much buſineſs, and ſo many enemies, upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætolians. To be the ſooner able to march out againſt them, he endeavoured to ſettle the affairs of Macedonia, and to ſecure it from any invaſions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other ſide, makes preparations for carrying on the war againſt the Acarnanians, who, though they ſaw it would be abſolutely impoſſible for them to oppoſe, at one and the ſame time, two ſuch powerful ſtates as the Ætolians and Romans, yet they took up arms out of deſpair, rather than from prudential motives, and reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Accordingly, having ſent into Epirus, which

* Corfu.

which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of ſixty, all thoſe who remained, from the age of fifteen to threeſcore, engaged themſelves by oath never to return except victorious; uttered the moſt dreadful imprecations againſt ſuch among them as ſhould break their oaths; and only deſired the Epirots to bury, in the ſame grave, all who ſhould fall in the battle, with the following inſcription over them: HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTOLIANS. Full of courage they ſet out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great reſolution and bravery terrified the Ætolians, who alſo received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the ſame.

In the very beginning of the ſpring, Levinus beſieged Anticyra,* which ſurrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himſelf. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated conſul in his abſence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to ſucceed him as prætor.

° In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, ſeveral other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate thoſe princes. Chleneas, their repreſentative, or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the deſign they had always harboured, and ſtill entertained, of enſlaving all Greece; particularly the ſacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Meſſenians. He added, that they had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions

° Polyb. l. ix. p. 561—571. * A city of Achaia in Phocis.

henſions from the Achæans, who, after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the laſt campaign, would think it a great happineſs to be able to defend their own country; that with reſpect to Philip, when he ſhould find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by ſea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded, with deſiring the Lacedæmonians to perſiſt in their alliance with Ætolia, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter.

Lyciſcus, the repreſentative of the Acarnanians, ſpoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the ſervices which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Perſians, its moſt ancient and moſt cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleneſs and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He inſiſted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to ſuffer Barbarians, for ſo he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He ſaid, that it was worthy of the Spartan wiſdom, to foreſee from far the ſtorm already gathering in the Weſt; and which would certainly break, firſt upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your anceſtors (continued he) throw into a well the man "who came in Xerxes's name, to invite them to "ſubmit themſelves to, and join with, that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with "his three hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? "Was it not merely to defend the common liberties "of Greece? And now you are adviſed to give them "up to other Barbarians, who, the more moderate "they appear, are ſo much the more dangerous. As "to the Ætolians (ſays he) if it be poſſible for them "to ſtoop ſo low, they may diſhonour themſelves by "ſo ſhameful a prevarication: this, indeed, would "be natural for them to do, as they are utter "ſtrangers to glory, and affected with nothing but

"ſordid

" ſordid views of intereſt. But as to you, O Spar-
" tans, who are born defenders of the liberty and ho-
" nour of Greece, you will ſuſtain that glorious title to
" the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where theſe two ſpeeches are repeated, goes no farther, and does not inform us what was the reſult of them. However, the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhows, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whoſe intrigues and diſputes, being carried to the utmoſt height, occaſioned great diſturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly againſt him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infeſted the commonwealth, ſeiſed upon the government, and made himſelf tyrant of his country.

[p] P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to ſuccour the Ætolians, the latter were fluſhed with the moſt ſanguine hopes, and the oppoſite party filled with terror; eſpecially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whoſe near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies ſent a deputation to king Philip, and ſolicited him to come into Greece, to defend and ſupport them. Philip loſt no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia.* Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had ſent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to ſhut themſelves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his ſtay there, ambaſſadors came from Ptolemy

[p] A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. Liv. l. xxvii. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.

* A city of Theſſaly in Phthiotis, † A city of Theſſaly.

lemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio; all with inſtructions to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing a laſting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not ſo much out of good-will for the latter, as from the uneaſineſs they were under in ſeeing Philip engage ſo ſtrenuouſly in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than ſuited their intereſts. For his conqueſts over the Ætolians, and their confederates, paved the way for his ſubjecting all Greece, to which his predeceſſors had always aſpired, and even gave him acceſs to thoſe cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy poſſeſſed. Philip, however, ſuſpended the debates on the peace, till the next aſſembly of the Achæans; and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. Being come into the aſſembly, the Ætolians made ſuch very unreaſonable propoſals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquiſhed ſhould take upon them to preſcribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the aſſembly, he had not depended in any manner on the juſtice and ſincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies, he himſelf was ſincerely deſirous of peace; and that the Ætolians were the only people who oppoſed it. He ſet out from thence after having left four thouſand troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the ſplendour of which he was deſirous of augmenting by his preſence.

While he was buſied in ſolemniſing theſe games, Sulpitius having ſet out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waſte all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with ſpeed againſt the enemy, and meeting them laden with ſpoils, put them to flight, and purſued them to their ſhips. Being returned to the games he was received with univerſal applauſe: and particularly, becauſe he had laid down his diadem and robes

of

of ſtate, and mixed indiſcriminately with the reſt of the ſpectators; a very pleaſing as well as ſoothing ſight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, ſo his enormous exceſſes ſoon made him odious. It was now his cuſtom to go at night into people's houſes in a plebeian dreſs, and there practiſe every kind of licentiouſneſs. It was not ſafe for fathers and huſbands to oppoſe him on theſe occaſions, for fear of being murthered.

Some days after the ſolemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whoſe captain-general was Cycliadus, having croſſed the river of Lariſſa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garriſon. The firſt day he laid waſte the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle array, and cauſed ſome bodies of horſe to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a ſally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was greatly ſurpriſed to find ſome Roman ſoldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen gallies, and landed four thouſand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night.[q] The fight was very bloody. Demophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, ſeeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and ſpurred toward him with great impetuoſity. The latter waited for him with the utmoſt reſolution; and preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thruſt of his pike, at his horſe's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other ſide, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, ſpurred his horſe into the midſt of the Roman foot. His horſe being wounded with a javelin threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both ſides making

[q] Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip priſoner, and the Macedonians to ſave him. The king ſignaliſed his courage on this occaſion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midſt of the cavalry, and a great ſlaughter was made in this engagement. At laſt, being carried off by his ſoldiers, and remounted on another horſe, he retired. The king encamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a caſtle, in which a great number of peaſants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took four thouſand priſoners, and twenty thouſand head of cattle of all ſorts: an advantage which might conſole him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That inſtant, advice was brought him that the Barbarians had made an incurſion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately ſet out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thouſand five hundred men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and paſſed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Meſſene, in which they had the advantage.

Sect. V. *Education and great qualities of Philopœmen.*

PHILOPŒMEN, of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponneſus. He was nobly educated by Caſſander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important ſervices he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his ſon Philopœmen.

Being come to years of diſcretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been ſcholars to Arceſilaus, founder

[r] Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

founder of the new academy. The ſcope of philoſophy in thoſe days was, to prompt mankind to ſerve their country: and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and tranſact the greateſt affairs of ſtate. This was the ineſtimable advantage the two philoſophers in queſtion procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common bleſſing of Greece. And, indeed, as it is ſaid that mothers love thoſe children beſt which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after ſo many illuſtrious perſonages, had a ſingular affection for, and took a pleaſure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increaſed. He was called *the laſt of the Greeks*, as Brutus was afterwards called *the laſt of the Romans:* Undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himſelf upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and reſolving upon affairs; his activity and boldneſs in executing; and his perfect diſintereſtedneſs; but as to his gentleneſs, patience, and moderation, with regard to the feuds and diviſions which uſually break out in a ſtate, theſe he could never imitate. A certain ſpirit of contention, which reſulted naturally from his head-ſtrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtue.

And, indeed, from his infancy, the only claſs of people he loved was ſoldiers; and he took a delight only in ſuch exerciſes as were neceſſary to qualify him for the profeſſion of arms; ſuch as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he ſeemed, by his muſcles and ſtature, to be very well made for wreſtling, and ſome particular friends adviſing him to apply himſelf to it, he aſked them, whether this exerciſe of the athletæ contributed to the making a man the better ſoldier? His friends could not help anſwering, that the life of the athletæ, who were obliged to obſerve a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food,

food, and that always at ſtated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to ſleep, in order to preſerve their robuſtneſs, in which the greateſt part of their merit conſiſted; that this way of life, I ſay, differed entirely from that of ſoldiers, who frequently are obliged to ſubmit to hunger and thirſt, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or ſleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the higheſt contempt for the athletic exerciſes; looking upon them as of no ſervice to the public, and conſidering them, from that inſtant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of ſoul, happineſs of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and maſters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis ſent to make incurſions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and ſlaves. And in all theſe inroads, he was ever the firſt that marched out, and the laſt who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the fields, he uſed to employ his leiſure in hunting, to make himſelf robuſt and nimble; or elſe uſed to ſpend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground, having a fine eſtate three miles from the city, whither he uſed to retire very frequently after dinner or ſupper. At night he would throw himſelf on a bed of ſtraw, like one of his ſlaves, and ſleep ſo till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he uſed to go with his vine-dreſſers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peaſants. After this, it was his cuſtom to return to the city, and employ himſelf in public affairs with his friends and the magiſtrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horſes and arms, or employed it in ranſoming the citizens who had been taken priſoners. He endeavoured to increaſe his eſtate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the moſt lawful; and was not ſatisfied with barely viſiting it now and then, and merely for diverſion

diverſion-ſake, but devoted his whole care to it; perſuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I muſt intreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgment of Philopœmen, to convey themſelves in imagination back to the ages I am ſpeaking of, and to call to mind with what induſtry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themſelves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high eſteem in which ſuch exerciſes were had in thoſe ages. It is univerſally known that the Romans, after having gained ſignal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car, crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the ſame hands which had juſt before vanquiſhed and defeated their enemies. According to our cuſtoms and way of thinking, the exerciſes above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappineſs they ſhould be thought ſo. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes us conſider as great and valuable, what really in itſelf deſerves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanneſs, to things of ſolid beauty and real greatneſs.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philoſophers, and read their works with the greateſt ſatisfaction; however, he did not read them all without diſtinction, but ſuch only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he ſought and retained ſuch only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in ſuch ſtrong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted moſt, were thoſe of Evangelus, called *the Tactics*, that

that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array; and the hiſtories of Alexander the Great: for it was his opinion, that words ſhould always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice; having very little regard for thoſe books that are written merely to ſatisfy a vain curioſity, or furniſh a rapid and tranſient amuſement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the Tacticks, he did not value the ſeeing demonſtrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but uſed to make the application on the ſpot, in the ſeveral places he came to: for in his marches, he uſed to obſerve exactly the poſition of the hills as well as vallies; all the irregularities of the ground; the ſeveral different forms and figures battalions and ſquadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods, and defiles in their way which oblige them to cloſe or extend themſelves: and after having reflected ſeriouſly on theſe particulars, he would diſcourſe on them with thoſe in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have ſeen what courage and greatneſs of ſoul he diſplayed on that occaſion. He ſignaliſed himſelf no leſs, ſome months after, in the battle of Selaſia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the ſame Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with ſuch exalted merit, to which he himſelf had been witneſs, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his ſervice. However, ſo great was his love for his country, that he refuſed them; not to mention that he had naturally an averſion to a court-life, which not only requires great ſubjection in the man who devotes himſelf to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impoſſible for him to paſs his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himſelf in the art of war. Crete ſerved him as an excellent ſchool; ſo that he made a great progreſs in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge

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in that ſcience. He there found men of a very warlike diſpoſition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to a moſt ſevere diſcipline.

After having ſerved for ſome time in the troops of that iſland, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard ſuch great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horſe. The firſt thing he did was to inquire into the ſtate of his forces, among whom he did not find the leaſt order or diſcipline. But he could neither diſſemble nor ſuffer ſuch a degeneracy. He himſelf therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inſpiring them with ſentiments of honour, animating them with promiſes of reward, and ſometimes employing ſeverity and puniſhment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exerciſed and reviewed them often; or made them engage in tournaments, on ſuch ſpots as would admit of the greateſt number of ſpectators. By this practice he ſoon made all his ſoldiers ſo robuſt, expert aad courageous, and at the ſame time ſo ready and nimble, that the ſeveral evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the ſquadrons together, or of each trooper ſingly, was performed with ſo much ſkill and eaſe, that a ſpectator would almoſt have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itſelf ſpontaneouſly, at the impreſſion of one and the ſame will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the laſt we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horſe, he gained great honour; and it was ſaid univerſally, that he was not inferior to any of the private ſoldiers, with regard to the ſtrength and ardour of his attacks; nor ſhowed leſs wiſdom and prudence than the oldeſt and moſt experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus,

Aratus, indeed, was the firſt who raiſed the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he roſe, they were weak and greatly deſpiſed, becauſe divided, and every city among them was ſtudious of nothing but its private intereſt. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his deſign was, to form one body and one power of all Peloponneſus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The ſucceſs of his enterpriſes was not owing ſo much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, addreſs, affability, benevolence; and, which was conſidered as a defect in his politics, to the friendſhip he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed ſubjected his ſtate to them. But, the inſtant Philopœmen aſſumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he rouſed the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone againſt their enemies, he obliged them to ſhake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the diſcipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exerciſe, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to uſe large and ponderous ſhields; gave them ſtrong lances, helmets, and armour for the breaſt and thigh; and thereby accuſtomed them to fight vigorouſly and gain ground, inſtead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather ſkirmiſh than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one ſenſe, and this was to curb and reſtrain their luxury, and exceſſive profuſion and expence. I ſay, to reſtrain; imagining that it would not be poſſible for him to eradicate their violent fondneſs for dreſs and outward ornaments. He began by ſubſtituting a different object in their place, by inſpir-

ing them with a love for another kind of magnificence, viz. to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their horſes, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now ſpent their whole time in working for their huſbands or children. The only things now ſeen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brighteſt dyes; coats of mail for horſemen, and cloaks for the ſoldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare ſight of theſe habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a ſtrong deſire to defy the greateſt dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in queſt of glory. Pomp in all other things, which attract the eye (ſays Plutarch) infallibly induces luxury; and inſpires all thoſe, who take a pleaſure in gazing upon it, with a ſecret effeminacy and indolence: The ſenſes, inchanted and dazzled by theſe deceitful charms, conſpiring to ſeduce the mind itſelf, and to enervate it by their ſoft inſinuations. But, on the contrary, that magnificence, whoſe object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. [s] Plutarch obſerves, that Brutus, who had accuſtomed his officers not to be ſuperfluous on any other occaſion, was perſuaded that the richneſs and ſplendour of the armour and weapons which ſoldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of men who are naturally brave and ambitious; and engages ſuch as are of a covetous temper to exert themſelves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable profeſſion. The author in queſtion tells us, that the circumſtance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was his beſtowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and ſilver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their ſhields. This was alſo the opinion of * Cæſar, who always gave

[s] Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

* *Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento & auro polites armis ornaret, ſimul*

gave his ſoldiers arms that glittered with gold and ſilver; and this he did not only for pomp and ſplendour, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of ſo great a value.

However, I muſt not omit obſerving, that generals, no leſs renowned than thoſe we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. [t] Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes of the little advantage which ſplendour is to an army, would not allow ſuch arms as were gilded and enriched with precious ſtones; and began to conſider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the ſtrength of thoſe who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, ſaid * to his troops, that it was proper for a ſoldier to appear with a rough and ſtern aſpect; that ornaments of gold and ſilver ill became him; and that ſteel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and ſilver are rather ſpoils than arms. Theſe ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a moſt hideous appearance in the midſt of blood and ſlaughter. The ſoldier's ornament is his valour; the reſt is always conſequential of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor ſoever he may be. It is well known, that † Alexander the Great entertained the ſame idea of the richneſs and magnificence of the arms of the Perſians.

In this oppoſition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce, which of thoſe great men had the moſt juſt way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot

[t] Plut. in Lucullo, p. 496.

ſimul & adſpeciem, & quo tenaciores eorum in prælio eſſent metu damni. Sueton. in Jul. Cæſar. c. 67.

* *Horridum militem eſſe debere, non cælatum auro argentoque, ſed ferro & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam veriùs quàm arma eſſe; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter ſanguinem & vulnera. Virtutem eſſe militis decus, & omnia illa victoriam ſequi: & ditem hoſtem quamvis pauperis victoris præmium eſſe.* Liv. l. ix. n. 40.

† *Aciem hoſtium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma geſtantem. Irent, & imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent.* Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 10.

cannot but admire the judgment of Philopœmen, who ſeeing luxury pravalent and eſtabliſhed in his country, did not think it adviſable to baniſh it entirely; but contented himſelf with directing it to an object more laudable in itſelf, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accuſtomed the young men to make their ſplendour conſiſt in that of their arms, he himſelf exerciſed and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military diſcipline. On the other ſide, the youths were very attentive to the inſtructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there aroſe a kind of emulation among them, which ſhould execute them with the greateſt eaſe and diligence. They were prodigiouſly pleaſed with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; becauſe they conceived, that were the ranks were ſo very cloſe, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, becauſe they took greater delight in carrying them from their ſplendour and beauty; and for this reaſon they panted to try them, and to ſee them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It muſt be confeſſed that Philopœmen, in what light ſoever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too ſtrongly exhort young officers and noblemen to ſtudy diligently ſo perfect a model, and to imitate him in all thoſe things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, ſentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince: The war which broke out ſo ſuddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and eſpecially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius, and do not want talents and qualities capable of raiſing them to whatever is greateſt: but then they ſometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind.

Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taſte which prevails almoſt univerſally, towards effeminacy, pleaſures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themſelves, and a fondneſs for falſe ſplendour, enervate our courage in our moſt tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Where the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, ſo far, I mean, as is conſiſtent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for ſtudies of a ſolid kind, ſuch as philoſophy, hiſtory, and polity; were they to propoſe as models for their imitation, the many illuſtrious generals which the laſt age produced; were they to put themſelves under the diſcipline of thoſe who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly conſider, that true greatneſs does not conſiſt in ſurpaſſing others merely in pomp and profuſion, but in diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ſolid merit; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themſelves in the military knowledge, to ſtudy it in all its parts, and acquire the true ſcope and deſign of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it; how illuſtrious a ſet of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One ſingle man inſpired the breaſt of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wiſhed (and why ſhould we not wiſh it?) that ſome one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our armies this taſte of the ancients, for ſimplicity, frugality, and generoſity; and direct the taſte of the French nation to things truly beautiful, ſolid, and juſt! All conqueſts would be infinitely ſhort of ſuch a glory.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius. A digreſſion of Polybius upon ſignals made by fire.*

[a] WE have already ſaid, that Sulpitius the proconſul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter-quarters at Ægina. As ſoon as ſpring appeared they had quitted them, and ſailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to ſixty gallies. Philip, on the other ſide, that he might be able to oppoſe the enemy, either by ſea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambaſſadors of the allies came from all parts to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were expoſed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promiſed to furniſh them with ſuch ſuccours as the preſent juncture, and the neceſſity of their affairs, might require. He kept his promiſe, and ſent bodies of ſoldiers into different places, to ſecure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotuſa, and made his troops march thither from Lariſſa, which lies very near it; and then returned to Demetrius. And in order to give ſeaſonable ſuccour to ſuch of his allies as ſhould be attacked, he fixed ſignals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little iſland of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tiſæum, a very lofty mountain of Theſſaly, men to obſerve them, that he might have ſpeedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might deſign to attack. I ſhall explain theſe ſignals hereafter.

The proconſul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid ſiege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two caſtles ſtrongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator who commanded it under Philip, ſurrendered it treacherouſly

[a] A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Polyb. l. x. p. 612—614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5—8.

rouſly to the beſiegers. He had purpoſely made the ſignals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of ſuccouring it. But the ſame did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius beſieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The ſignals were made very ſeaſonably there; and the commander, deaf and inacceſſible to the offers of the proconſul, prepared for a ſtout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was ſo wiſe as to deſiſt immediately from it. The city was ſtrongly fortified in itſelf; and beſides, ſituated on the Euripus, that famous ſtrait, * in which the ſea does not ebb and flow ſeven times every day, at fixed and ſtated hours, as (ſays Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilſt the waves roll on all ſides with ſo much impetuoſity, that they ſeem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; ſo that ſhips can never ride there in ſafety.

Attalus beſieged Opuntus, a city ſituated not far from the ſea-ſide, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence, to its aid, having marched utwards of † ſixty miles in one day. The city had been juſt taken before he arrived at it: and he might have ſurpriſed Attalus who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the inſtant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip purſued him to the ſea-ſide.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Pruſias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Aſia, and Sulpitius to the iſland of Ægina. Philip, after having taken ſome ſmall cities, and fruſtrated the project of Machanidas,

* *Haud alia infeſtior claſſi ſtatio eſt. Nam & venti ab utriuſque terræ prærupti montibus ſubiti ac procelloſi ſe deiiciunt, & fretum ipſum Euripi, non ſepties die, ſicut fama fert, temporibus ſtatis reciprocat; ſed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verſo mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur.* Liv.

† So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympick games, he repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus were sailed away, this did the same.

Philip * was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmost diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occasions, in quest of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest dispatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in escaping his pursuits: that this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies: after having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardanians.

Digression of Polybius, on the signals made by fire.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself; and besides, it bears so near a relation

* *Philippus mœrebat & angebatur, cùm ad omnia ipse raptim isset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisse; & rapientem omnia ex oculis elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam.* LIV.

tion to the facts I am now relating, as to excuſe my introducing a digreſſion, that will not be of a great length, and which the reader may paſs over if he finds it tedious. I ſhall repeat it almoſt literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almoſt verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the ſame ſignals made by fire: but then he only hints at them, becauſe as they were not invented by the Romans, conſequently this was a ſubject which did not relate ſo immediately to the hiſtory he was writing. But this artifice of the ſignals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the hiſtory of the Greeks, and ſhows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts to that noble art, the judicious reflections they had formed in all things relative to it, and the aſtoniſhing progreſs they had made,[x] in reſpect to the conſtruction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military ſignals.

As the making of ſignals by fire, ſays Polybius, though of great uſe in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will not be proper to paſs over them ſuperficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth univerſally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but eſpecially in war. Now, among the ſeveral things which have been invented to enable men to ſeiſe it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than ſignals made by fire. Whether tranſactions have happened but a little before, or are then tranſacting, they may, by this method, be very eaſily made known, at places diſtant

[x] Polyb. l. x. p. 614—618.

* *Philippus, ut ad omnes hoſtium motus poſſet occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, & Peparethum mittit qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipſe in Tiſæo (mons eſt in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) ſpeculam poſuit, ut ignibus procul ſublatis, ſignum, ubi quid molirentur hoſtes, momento temporis acciperet.* Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5.

Signals made by Fire.

L. F. Boitard fecit.

diſtant three or four days' journey from where they happened, and ſometimes at a ſtill greater diſtance; and by this help, the neceſſary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly this method of giving notice was of very little advantage, becauſe of its too great ſimplicity. For, in order to the making uſe of it, it was neceſſary that certain ſignals ſhould be agreed upon: And, as events are infinitely various, it was impoſſible to communicate the greateſt part of them by this method. As for inſtance, not to depart from the preſent hiſtory, it was very eaſy to make known, at a diſtance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; becauſe the parties whom it concerned had foreſeen this, and accordingly had agreed upon ſuch ſignals as might denote it. But an unexpected inſurrection, a treaſon, an horrid murther committed in a city, and ſuch like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreſeen; this kind of events, which require immediate conſideration and remedy, cannot be ſignified by a beacon. For it is not poſſible to agree upon a ſignal for ſuch events as it is impoſſible to foreſee.

Æneas,* who wrote a treatiſe on the duties of a general, endeavoured to complete what was wanting on this occaſion; but he was far from ſucceeding ſo well as could have been wiſhed, or as he himſelf had propoſed, of which the reader may now judge.

Thoſe, ſays he, who would give ſignals to one another, upon affairs of importance, muſt firſt prepare two veſſels of earth, exactly equal in breath and depth: and they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then muſt take pieces of

* Æneas was contemporary with Ariſtotle. He wrote a treatiſe on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counſellors, made an abridgement of it. Pyrrhus alſo wrote on the ſame ſubject. *Ælian. Tact. cap.* 1. Cicero mentions the two laſt in one of his epiſtles. *Summum me ducem literæ tuæ reddiderunt. Plane noſciebam te tam peritum eſſe rei militaris. Pyrrhite libros et Cineæ video lectitaſſe.* Lib. ix. Epiſt. 25. ad Papir. Poetam.

cork, proportioned to the mouth of theſe veſſels, but not quite ſo wide, that they may be let down with eaſe to the bottom of theſe veſſels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a ſtick, which muſt be of equal ſize in both theſe veſſels. This ſtick muſt be divided exactly and diſtinctly by ſpaces of three inches each, in order that ſuch events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of theſe intervals the following words may be written: A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY, HEAVILY ARMED, ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: HORSE AND FOOT. On another: SHIPS. Then PROVISIONS; and ſo on till all the events, which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are written down in theſe intervals.

This being done, each of the two veſſels muſt have a little tube or cock of equal bigneſs, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then, the two veſſels muſt be filled with water; pieces of cork, with their ſticks thruſt through them, muſt be laid upon them, and the cocks muſt be opened. Now it is plain, that as theſe veſſels are equal, the cocks will ſink, and the ſticks deſcend lower in the veſſels, in proportion as they empty themſelves. But to be more certain of this exactneſs, it will be proper to make the experiment firſt, and to examine whether all things correſpond and agree together, by an uniform execution on both ſides.

When they are well aſſured of this, the two veſſels muſt be carried to the two places where the ſignals are to be made and obſerved: Water is poured in, and the corks and ſticks are put in the veſſels. In proportion as any of the events which are written on the ſticks ſhall happen, a torch, or other light, is raiſed, which muſt be held aloft, till ſuch time as another is raiſed by the party to whom it is directed. (This firſt ſignal is only to give notice that both parties are ready

and

and attentive.) Then the torch or other light muſt be taken away, and the cocks ſet open. When the interval, that is, that part of the ſtick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, ſhall be fallen to a level with the veſſels, then the man who gives the ſignal lifts up his torch; and on the other ſide, the correſpondent ſignal-maker immediately turns the cock of his veſſel, and looks at what is written on that part of the ſtick which touches the mouth of the veſſel; on which occaſion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both ſides, both will read the ſame thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practiſed in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a ſingle ſignal which was to denote the event the other party deſired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheleſs was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impoſſible to foreſee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreſeen, there would be no poſſibility of writing them all on a piece of ſtick. Beſides, when any unexpected accident ſhould happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inſcription on the ſtick is no ways exact and circumſtantial. We are not told how many horſe and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ſhips are arrived; nor the quantity of proviſions we have. For before theſe ſeveral particulars could be written on the ſtick, they muſt have been foreſeen, which was altogether impoſſible, though moſt eſſential; and how can ſuccours be ſent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be oppoſed, nor in what part of the country they are? How muſt a party either confide in or doubt their own ſtrength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ſhips, or what quantity of proviſions are come from the enemy.

The laſt method was invented by Cleoxenus, which others aſcribe to Democlitus; however, we have improved it, ſays Polybius, who continues the ſole ſpeaker upon this head. This fixes every circumſtance, and enables us to give notice of whatſoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactneſs. This method is as follows:

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet muſt be taken and divided into five parts; and theſe muſt be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order on five columns; five letters in each column, the laſt excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being diſpoſed in this manner, the man who is to make the ſignal muſt begin by ſhowing two torches or lights; and theſe he muſt hold aloft till the other party has alſo ſhown two lights. This firſt ſignal is only to ſhow that both ſides are ready, after which the lights muſt be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The perſon, who gives the ſignal, ſhall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correſpondent party, from which of the columns he muſt take letters, to write them down in proportion as they ſhall be pointed out to him; ſo that if it is the firſt column, he only holds up one torch; if the ſecond, he ſhows two, and ſo on, and always to the left. He muſt do the ſame to the right hand, to point out to the perſon who receives the ſignal, which letter in the column he muſt obſerve and write down. This both parties muſt agree upon between them.

Theſe ſeveral things being fixed, and each of them got to his poſt, the man who gives the ſignal muſt have a * geometrical inſtrument with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to anſwer. The board muſt be ſet up near to this inſtrument; and to the right and left a ſolid muſt be raiſed ten feet broad,

* The figure of it is annexed at the end of this little treatiſe.

broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches, which ſhall be lifted up over it, may ſpread a ſtrong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus diſpoſed on each ſide, I will ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that advice is to be given, that "An hundred Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy." Firſt, he muſt make choice of ſuch words as will expreſs what is here ſaid in the feweſt letters poſſible, as "Cretans, or Kretans,* an hundred have deſerted," which expreſſes the very ſame idea in much fewer letters.

The firſt letter is a K, which is in the ſecond column. Two torches muſt therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the perſon who receives the ſignal, that he muſt look into the ſecond column. He then muſt lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter ſought for is the fifth of the ſecond column, that is, a K.

Afterwards four torches muſt be held up to the left, to point out the P † which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the ſecond of the fourth column. The ſame muſt be obſerved with reſpect to the reſt of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to paſs may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reaſon why two ſets of lights are uſed, is, becauſe every letter muſt be pointed out twice; the firſt, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the ſecond, to ſhow its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the perſons employed on theſe occaſions obſerve the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: but it muſt be practiſed a long time, before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

This

* The words are diſpoſed in this manner in the Greek.

† This is the capital letter *R* in the Greek tongue.

This is what is propoſed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great ſoldier and politician, and for this reaſon his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occaſions. Theſe ſignals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was ſent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, "The art of making ſignals both by ſea and land." The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commiſſioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he communicated ſeveral times, at the diſtance of two leagues (in as ſhort a ſpace of time as a man could write down, and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot ſay what this new invention was, nor what ſucceſs it met with; but in my opinion ſuch diſcoveries as theſe ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very deſirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating ſpeedy advices; and of theſe, ſignals by fire are one of the principal.

[x] In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murthered all their huſbands in one night, Hypermneſtra excepted, who ſpared Lynceus, it is related that both flying, and each being arrived at a place of ſafety, they informed one another of it by ſignals made by fire; and that this circumſtance gave riſe to the feſtival of torches eſtabliſhed in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his ſetting out for the Trojan expedition, had promiſed Clytemneſtra, that the very day the city ſhould be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpoſe. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æſchylus, which takes its name from that prince: Where the ſhe-centinel, appointed to watch this ſignal, declares

[x] Paſan. l. ii. p. 130.

clares ſhe had ſpent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable poſt.

We alſo find * by the writings of Julius Cæſar, that he himſelf uſed the ſame method.

Cæſar gives us an account of another method in uſe amongſt the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they ſtood in need of immediate ſuccour, they gave notice to one another by repeated ſhouts, which were catched from place to place; ſo that the maſſacre of the Romans in Orleans, at ſun-riſe, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening in Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

[y] We are told of a much ſhorter method. It is pretended that the king of Perſia, when he carried the war into Greece, had poſted a kind of centinels at proper diſtances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, ſuch news as it was neceſſary to tranſmit to a great diſtance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Suſa (upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues) in forty-eight hours.

It is alſo related, that a † Sidonian propoſed to Alexander the Great an infallible method for eſtabliſhing a ſpeedy and ſafe communication between all the countries ſubject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from ſo great a diſtance as between his hereditary kingdom, and his moſt remote conqueſt in India: But the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: however he ſoon repented it, and very juſtly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himſelf.

[z] Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena, beſieged by Anthony, who prevented his

y Coel. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8. z Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

* *Celeriter, ut antè Cæſar imperaverat, ignibus ſignificatione factâ, ex proximis caſtellis eò concurſum eſt.* Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. ii.

† Vigenere, in his remarks on the ſeventh book of Cæſar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.

his ſending the leaſt advice to the conſuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whoſe feet he faſtened letters, which arrived in ſafety wherever he thought proper to ſend them. Of what uſe, ſays Pliny,* were Anthony's intrenchments and centinels to him? Of what ſervice were all the nets he ſpread, when the new courier took his rout through the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ſhips arrive in that harbour, they make uſe of pigeons, which have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are faſtened about the pigeons' necks, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, ſoar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The ſame method is uſed in many other places.

Deſcription of the inſtrument employed in ſignals made by fire.

Mr. Chevalier, mathematical profeſſor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been ſo good as to delineate, at my requeſt, the figure of the inſtrument, mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the inſtrument deſcribed by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great diſtance, by ſignals made by fire.

AB is a beam about four or five feet long, five or ſix inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two croſs pieces of wood, CD, EF, of equal breadth and thickneſs with the beam, and three or four feet long. The ſides of theſe croſs pieces of timber muſt be exactly parallel, and their upper ſuperfices very ſmooth. In the

* *Quid vallum, & vigil obſidio, atque etiam retia arte prætexta profuere Antonio, per cœlum eunte nuntio?*

the middle of the ſurface of each of theſe pieces, a right line muſt be drawn parallel to their ſides; and conſequently theſe lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half or two inches diſtance from theſe lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each croſs piece, their muſt be driven in very ſtrongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or braſs ſcrew (2) whoſe upper part, which muſt be cylindrical, and five or ſix* lines in diameter, ſhall project ſeven or eight lines above the ſuperficies of theſe croſs pieces,

On theſe pieces muſt be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders GH, IK, through which the obſervations are made. Theſe tubes muſt be exactly cylindrical, and formed of ſome hard, ſolid metal, in order that they may not ſhrink or warp. They muſt be a foot longer than the croſs pieces on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend ſix inches beyond it at each end. Theſe two tubes muſt be fixed on two plates of the ſame metal, in the middle of whoſe length ſhall be a ſmall convexity (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) muſt be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; ſo that applying the plates on which theſe tubes are fixed, upon the croſs pieces of wood CD, EF, this hole muſt be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the ſcrew (2) which was fixed in it, and in ſuch a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the ſcrew may extend ſome lines beyond the ſuperficies of the plates, and in ſuch a manner as that thoſe tubes may turn, with their plates about theſe ſcrews, in order to direct them on the boards or ſcreens P, Q, behind which the ſignals by fire are made, according to the different diſtances of the places where the ſignals ſhall be given.

The tubes muſt be blacked within, in order that when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There muſt alſo be

* Twelfth part of an inch.

placed about the end, on the ſide of the obſerver, a perforated ring, the aperture of which muſt be of three or four lines; and place at the other end two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, croſſing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam AB muſt be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which muſt be fixed the foot LMNOP, which ſupports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and ſights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferenters, theodolites, and even geometrical ſquares, which are uſed to draw maps, take plans, and ſurvey, *&c.* but it has the ſame uſes, which is to direct the ſight.

The perſon who makes the ſignal, and he who receives it, muſt have the like inſtrument; otherwiſe, the man who receives the ſignal could not diſtinguiſh whether the ſignals made are to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an eſſential circumſtance according to the method propoſed by Polybius.

The two boards or ſcreens PQ, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the ſignals, or to diſplay or hide the fires, according to the circumſtance of the obſervation, ought to be greater or leſs, and nearer or farther diſtant from one another, according as the diſtance between the places where the ſignals muſt be given and received is greater or leſs.

In my deſcription of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making ſignals by fire; but I do not pretend to ſay, that it is of uſe, for giving ſignals at a conſiderable diſtance; for it is certain, that, how large ſoever this machine be, ſignals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5 torches, will not be ſeen at 5, 6, or more leagues diſtance, as he ſuppoſes. To make them viſible at a greater diſtance, ſuch torches muſt not be made uſe of, as can be lifted up

and down with the hand, but large wide ſpreading fires of whole loads of ſtraw or wood; and, conſequently, boards or ſcreens of a prodigious ſize muſt be employed, to hide or eclipſe them.

Teleſcopes were not known in Polybius's time; they were not diſcovered or improved till the laſt century. Thoſe inſtruments might have made the ſignals in queſtion viſible at a much greater diſtance than bare tubes could have done: but I ſtill doubt, whether they could be employed to the uſe mentioned by Polybius, at a greater diſtance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city beſieged might communicate advice to an army ſent to ſuccour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a ſiege, in order to taking proper meaſures: and that, on the other ſide, the army ſent to its aid might communicate its deſigns to the city beſieged, eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of teleſcopes.

SECT. VII. *Philopœmen gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general: Nabis ſucceeds Machanidas. Some inſtances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both ſides are included.*

THE Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they reſolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks and did not moleſt them during the two following years.

[a] In the firſt, Philopœmen was appointed captain general of the Achæans. As ſoon as he was inveſted with this employment, which was the higheſt in the ſtate, he aſſembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to ſecond his zeal with courage and

[a] A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. Polyb. l. xi. p. 629—631.

and warmth, and ſupport with honour both their fame and his. He inſiſted ſtrongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of the dreſs, which became women only, and thoſe too of little merit; but of the neatneſs and ſplendour of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe, inſomuch that, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, all thoſe who were magnificently dreſſed were pointed at; ſo great an influence have the words of an illuſtrious perſon, not only in diſſuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; eſpecially when his actions correſpond with his words, for then it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dreſs, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In converſation he ſuffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they uſed contemptuous expreſſions: And, for himſelf, he was ſure never to give the leaſt offence to any one. It was his ſtudy, during his life, to ſpeak nothing but the truth: and, indeed, the ſlighteſt expreſſions of his were heard with reſpect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to perſuade, his conduct being a rule of what every body elſe ought to do.

The aſſembly being diſmiſſed, every body returned to their reſpective cities, in the higheſt admiration of Philopœmen, whoſe words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully perſuaded, that as long as he ſhould preſide in the government, it could not but flouriſh. He immediately viſited the ſeveral cities, and gave the neceſſary orders in them. He aſſembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was neceſſary to be done, and raiſed troops. After ſpending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

[b] Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching,

[b] Polyb. l. xi p. 631—637. Pluſ. in Philop. p. 391.

watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots laden with catapultæ,* and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first, consisting of Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some † Tarentine horse, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were even not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: but when he was advanced to a proper

* Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

† The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 28.

proper diſtance, he on a ſudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he cauſed all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly ſaw that his deſign was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and ſtones: however, he did not give him time for it, but cauſed the Tarentine horſe to begin the battle with great vigour, on a ſpot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the ſame, and to lead on his Tarentines. The firſt charge was very furious. The light-armed ſoldiers advancing a little after to ſuſtain them, in a moment the foreign troops were univerſally engaged on both ſides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At laſt, the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, giving them the ſuperiority. The Illyrians and cuiraſſiers, who ſuſtained the foreign ſoldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withſtand ſo furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen ſeemed now loſt to all hopes. On this occaſion, ſays Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reaſonably be conteſted, That the events of war are generally ſucceſsful or unfortudate, only in proportion to the ſkill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, ſo far from deſponding at the ill ſucceſs of the firſt charge, or being in confuſion, was ſolely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on theſe occaſions, and for that reaſon cannot be too ſtrongly guarded againſt. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, inſtead of improving that advantage, by charging

charging in front that inſtant with his infantry the centre of that of the enemies, and taking it at the ſame time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, ſuffers himſelf, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, and purſues, without order or diſcipline, thoſe who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the centre, takes the firſt cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and ſeiſes the poſt which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded theſe cohorts to ſtay in the poſt they had juſt ſeiſed, till farther orders; and at the ſame time directed * Polybius, the Megalopolitan, to rally all the Illyrians, cuiraſſiers, and foreigners, who, without quitting the ranks, and flying as the reſt had done, had drawn off, to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with theſe forces, to poſt himſelf on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from the purſuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the firſt ſucceſs of their wing, without waiting for the ſignal, advanced with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether from being ſo near the enemy, they were aſhamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch, becauſe it was dry and had no hedge; and beſides, being no longer able to retire, becauſe the advanced ranks were puſhed forward by thoſe in the rear, they puſhed into the ditch at once. This was the deciſive point of time which Philopœmen

* The late tranſlator of Polybius miſtakes this officer for our hiſtorian, and here introduces him ſpeaking; which is otherwiſe in the original. Polybius the hiſtorian was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this perſon had the ſame name, and was a native of the ſame city, which makes the error more excuſeable.

men had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be ſounded. His troops levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful ſhouts on the Lacedæmonians. Theſe, who at their deſcending into the ditch, had broke their ranks, no ſooner ſaw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled; nevertheleſs, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own ſoldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, the buſineſs now was to prevent the tyrant from eſcaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; when, being ſenſible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops perceiving that the enemy were maſters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite diſpirited, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves as well as they could. Machanidas himſelf, finding it impoſſible to paſs the bridge, hurried along the ſide of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horſe: So that, after giving the neceſſary orders to his officers, he paſſed the ditch, in order to ſtop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might eaſily be croſſed, claps ſpurs to his horſe, and ſprings forward in order to leap over. That very inſtant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being ſtruck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They purſued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegea, entered the city with them, and being now maſters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not loſe many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians loſt four thouſand, without including the priſoners, who were ſtill more numerous. The baggage and arms were alſo taken by the Achæans.

The

The conquerors, ſtruck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen ſtatue to him in the ſame attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which ſtatue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius juſtly obſerves, that this ſignal victory muſt not be aſcribed either to chance, or a concurrence of circumſtances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreſeen and diſpoſed all things neceſſary for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who ſtill ſpeaks, and continues his reflections) Philopœmen had covered himſelf with the ditch: not to avoid coming to a battle, as ſome have imagined, but becauſe, like a judicious man and a great ſoldier, he had reflected, that ſhould Machanidas attempt to make his army paſs the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated; or if, being ſtopped by the ditch, he ſhould change his reſolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the moſt unſkilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterpriſe, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius alſo highly applauds the preſence of mind and reſolution of Philopœmen, in his not deſponding or loſing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occaſion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks theſe ſmall battles, where there are not many combatants on either ſide, and in which, by that means, one may follow, as it were with the eye, the ſeveral ſteps of the commanding officers, obſerve the ſeveral orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit; that theſe, I ſay, may be of great ſervice to thoſe who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the ſtudy of hiſtory.

It

[c] It is related that, in the aſſembly of the Nemæan games which were ſolemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a ſecond time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the feſtival, he cauſed his phalanx, very ſplendidly clothed, to paſs in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their uſual exerciſes, to ſhow with what dexterity, ſtrength, and agility, they performed the ſeveral military movements, without breaking or diſordering their ranks in the leaſt. He afterwards went into the theatre in which the muſicians were diſputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by thoſe youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful ſtature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the higheſt veneration for their general, and fired at the ſame time with a martial intrepidity; ſentiments with which their glorious battles and ſucceſs, under this illuſtrious general, had inſpired them.

The very inſtant that flouriſhing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the muſician, who was ſinging to his lyre the *Perſians* of * Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verſe,

The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
The brighteſt crown the gods beſtow.

Theſe lofty verſes being finely expreſſed by the ſinger, who had an exquiſite voice, ſtruck the whole aſſembly. At the ſame time all the Greeks caſt their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raiſing ſhouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; ſoothing themſelves with the pleaſing hopes, that they ſhould revive thoſe ancient times, and their priſtine glory; ſo greatly did a general,

[c] A. M. 3799. Ant J. C. 205.

* This was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the XCVth Olympiad, i. e. 298 years before Chriſt. One of his pieces was entitled the *Perſians*.

ral, like Philopœmen, increaſe their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, ſays Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of thoſe they are uſed to, and that in caſe any other perſon attempts to mount them, they are diſpleaſed, and prance about with their new rider; the ſame diſpoſition appeared in the Achæan league. The inſtant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be diſcouraged, and turn their eyes in queſt of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived and were ready for action; ſo ſtrongly were they perſuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whoſe preſence the enemy dreaded, and whoſe name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly ſpeaking, be a more pleaſing, more affecting, or more ſolid glory for a general or a prince, than to ſee himſelf eſteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and people, in the manner Philopœmen was? is it poſſible for any man to be ſo taſteleſs and void of ſenſe, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which ſo many perſons of quality imagine they derive from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables. Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do; but then he placed it in what it really conſiſts; the clothing his troops ſplendidly; providing them good horſes and ſhining arms; ſupplying, with a generous hand, all their wants both public and private; diſtributing money ſeaſonably to encourage the officers, and even private men: In acting thus, Philopœmen, though dreſſed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greateſt and moſt magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only conſequence of which

was

was its changing one oppreſſor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly ſo jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to ſlavery, ſeemed by its indolence ſtudious of nothing but to make itſelf new chains, or to ſupport its old ones. Machanidas was ſucceeded by Nabis, who, though a worſe tyrant, yet the Spartans did not ſhow the leaſt ſpirit, or make the leaſt effort to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery.

[d] Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not deſirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours to lay the ſolid foundations of a laſting and cruel tyranny. For that purpoſe he made it his particular care to deſtroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He baniſhed from it all ſuch as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their quality and wealth, and gave their eſtates and wives to his creatures. We ſhall ſpeak of theſe perſons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and aſſaſſins, and capable of perpetrating the blackeſt crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been baniſhed their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midſt of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to ſtrengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not ſatisfied with baniſhing the citizens; he acted in ſuch a manner, that they could not find any ſecure aſylum, even in foreign countries: Some were butchered in their journey by his emiſſaries; and he recalled others from baniſhment, with no other view but to murder them.

Beſides theſe barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, repreſenting a woman magnificently dreſſed, and exactly reſembling his wife. Every time that he ſent for any perſon, to extort money from him, he would firſt declare, in the kindeſt

[d] Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

kindeſt and moſt gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was expoſed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the ſecurity of his government; the great ſums he expended for the worſhip of the gods, and for the good of the public. In caſe the perſon ſpoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted: But, if he was refractory, and refuſed to give him money, he would ſay, "Probably the "talent of perſuaſion is not mine; but I hope that "Apega will have ſome effect upon you." This Apega was his wife. He no ſooner uttered theſe words but his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raiſed her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms and breaſt of this machine were ſtuck with ſharp iron points, concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying her's round his waſte, claſped him into her boſom, whilſt he vented the moſt lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform theſe ſeveral motions by ſecret ſprings. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, for whom he could not otherwiſe extort the ſums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be ſo completely wicked, as to contrive, in cold blood, ſuch a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing their agonies, and hearing their groans? It is aſtoniſhing that in ſuch a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmoſt deteſtation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws ſo far from reſtraining men as among us, ſeemed to arm them againſt all who were enemies to liberty; it is aſtoniſhing, I ſay, that ſo horrid a monſter ſhould be ſuffered to live one day.

[a] I have already obſerved, that the Romans, employed

[a] A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Liv. l. xxix. n. 12.

ployed in a moſt important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themſelves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconſul arrived with conſiderable aids; ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirty-five ſhips of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace without having firſt obtained the conſent of the Romans, contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots alſo, tired with the length of the war, ſent deputies (with the proconſul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almoſt ſure, if he conſented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would eaſily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleaſed with theſe overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were deſirous of peace; Philip, that he might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of his kingdom; and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war againſt Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was ſoon concluded. The king cauſed Pruſias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Theſſalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, ſucceſſor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Meſſenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

SECT. VIII. *The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philopator's death.*

THE hiſtory of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the tranſactions in Aſia, and therefore we now return to them.

Antiochus,

[f] Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed ſome time in ſettling his affairs in Aſia Minor, marched towards the Eaſt, to reduce thoſe provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had juſt before diſpoſſeſſed him. Arſaces, ſon to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, ſays Polybius, is the moſt powerful in all Aſia, as well for its extent, as for the number and ſtrength of the men, and the great quantity of horſes it produces. Media furniſhes all Aſia with thoſe beaſts; and its paſtures are ſo good, that the neighbouring monarchs ſend their ſtuds thither. Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the fineſt in the world, and the king's palace is ſeven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the leaſt piece of timber was viſible; the joiſts, the beams, the cielings and columns, which ſuſtained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with ſilver or gold plates. All the tiles were of ſilver. The greateſt part of theſe rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the reſt plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheleſs, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was ſtill ſurrounded with gilt columns, and the ſoldiers found in it a great number of ſilver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of ſilver. All this was converted into ſpecie, and ſtamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to four thouſand talents, or about ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Arſaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to croſs, with his numerous army, a country

[f] A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Polyb. l. x. p. 597—602.

country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one, except those that know the country, can find them. On this occasion, a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places, to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those that make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were built, and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, which Polybius calls wells.

[g] When Arsaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts, in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year, in order to re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

The

[g] A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.

[h] The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as ſucceſsful as he had been the year before in Media: Arſaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that in ſecuring ſome paſſes of the mountains which ſeparate it from Parthia, it would be impoſſible for the Syrian army to approach him.

[i] However, he was miſtaken: for, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, Antiochus took the field; and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all thoſe poſts at the ſame time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and ſoon forced them all. He afterwards aſſembled them in the plains, and marched to beſiege Seringis, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having beſieged it for ſome time, he at laſt made a great breach, and took the city by ſtorm, upon which the inhabitants ſurrendered at diſcretion.

[k] In the mean time Arſaces was very buſy. As he retired, he re-aſſembled troops, which at laſt formed an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. He then took the field againſt the enemy, and put a ſtop to their progreſs with the utmoſt bravery. His reſiſtance protracted the war, which ſeemed almoſt at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce ſo valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where, by length of time, he had ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed himſelf. For this reaſon, he began to the liſten to the overtures which were made him, for terminating ſo tedious a war.

[l] At laſt a treaty was concluded, in which it was ſtipulated that Arſaces ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of Hyrcania, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt

[h] A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. [i] A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209.
[k] Juſtin. l. 41. c. 5. [l] A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208.

Antiochus in recovering the reſt of the revolted provinces.

[m] Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms againſt Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already ſhown in what manner Theodotus had diſunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his ſon of the ſame name with himſelf. This ſon had been defeated and diſpoſſeſſed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war againſt Antiochus. [n] The latter uſed his utmoſt endeavours to recover Bactria; but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the courſe of this war, Antiochus diſplayed his bravery in the moſt extraordinary manner. In one of theſe battles his horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf received a wound in the mouth, which, however, was not dangerous, being attended with only the loſs of ſome of his teeth.

At laſt he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impoſſible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambaſſadors, who repreſented to him, that the war he was carrying on againſt their ſovereign was not juſt: that he had never been his ſubject, and conſequently that he ought not to avenge himſelf on their king, becauſe others had rebelled againſt him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him: that he poſſeſſed this kingdom by right of conqueſt over the deſcendants of thoſe chiefs of the rebellion, and preſerved it as the reward of a juſt victory. They alſo inſinuated to him that the Scythians, obſerving both parties had weakened themſelves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that ſhould they perſiſt obſtinately in diſputing it, thoſe Barbarians might very poſſibly diſpoſſeſs

[m] A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207.
[n] Polyb. l. x. p. 620, 621, & l. xi. p. 651, 652.

poſſeſs both of it. [o] This reflection made an impreſſion on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of ſo unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reaſon he granted them ſuch conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus ſent his ſon to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his converſation, and the air of majeſty conſpicuous in his whole perſon, that he was worthy of a throne, he promiſed him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put into writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the uſual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he paſſed Mount Caucaſus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He alſo received elephants from him, which, with thoſe Euthydemus had given him, amounted to an hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachoſia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, eſtabliſhing his authority and good order in all thoſe provinces.

[p] He paſſed the winter in the laſt country. From thence he returned by Perſia, Babylonia, and Meſopotamia, and at laſt arrived at Antioch, after having ſpent ſeven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterpriſes, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wiſe and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Aſia.

[q] A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and exceſſes,

[o] A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. [p] A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205. [q] A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 204.

ceſſes, had quite ruined his conſtitution, which was naturally ſtrong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to thoſe who abandon themſelves to pleaſure, before he had run half his courſe. He was ſcarce above twenty years old when he aſcended the throne, and reigned but ſeventeen years. He was ſucceeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his ſon, then five years old.

BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.

SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Epiphanes succeeds Philopator his father in the kingdom of Egypt. Antiochus and Philip enter into an alliance to invade his dominions. The Romans become guardians of the young king. Antiochus subdues Paleſtine and Cœloſyria. The war of Philip againſt the Athenians, Attalus, and the Rhodians. He beſieges Abydos. The unhappy fate of that city. The Romans declare war againſt Philip. Sulpitius the conſul is ſent into Macedonia.*

I RELATED in the preceding book how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out with riots and exceſſes, had come to his end, after having reigned ſeventeen years. As the only perſons preſent when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his ſiſter, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as

[r] A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 712—720.

as poſſible from the public, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They alſo formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by uſurping the regency during the minority of his ſon, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be eaſily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had ſucceeded Soſibis in the miniſtry; and accordingly they concerted meaſures to diſpatch him.

At laſt they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was aſſembled, in which Agathocles and Agathoclea were preſent. Agathocles, after ſhedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reaſon he was come to implore their aſſiſtance againſt Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed a deſign of uſurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witneſſes expreſsly to prove his treaſon, and at the ſame time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately diſpatched, and that in conſequence he might eaſily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too groſs, and the people immediately ſwore the deſtruction of Agathocles, his ſiſter, and all their creatures. This laſt attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria roſe againſt them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and ſeated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which

* Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who deſcended from the Macedonians, and the poſterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of thoſe to whom the ſame privileges had been granted.

which Agathocles, his ſiſter, and Œinanthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace expoſed their dead bodies to all the indignities poſſible; dragging them through the ſtreets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the ſame treatment, and not one of them was ſpared. The uſual and juſt end of thoſe unworthy favourites, who abuſe the confidence of their ſovereign to oppreſs the people, and who never puniſh thoſe who reſemble themſelves.

Philammon, the aſſaſſin, who had been hired to murther Arſinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and taking this opportunity, which the diſtractions of the city gave them, they reſolved to revenge their miſtreſs's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the houſe where he was, and killed him with clubs and ſtones.

The care of the king's perſon, till otherwiſe provided for, was given to Soſibes, ſon to him who had governed during the three laſt reigns. Hiſtory does not inform us whether he was ſtill alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had paſſed above threeſcore years in the adminiſtration. [s] No miniſter was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Soſibes. He made no ſcruple of committing the blackeſt crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murther of Lyſimachus ſon of Ptolemy, and of Arſinoe daughter of that Lyſimachus; of Magis ſon of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes king of Sparta; and laſtly, of Arſinoe daughter of Berenice. It is ſurpriſing that, notwithſtanding a conduct of ſo much inhumanity and

[s] A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.

and cruelty in his adminiſtration, he ſhould ſupport himſelf ſo long, and at laſt come to a peaceable end.

[t] Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had diſcovered the ſtrongeſt zeal for the intereſt of that monarch, and were ready to aſſiſt him on all occaſions. Yet, no ſooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and juſtice enjoined them not to diſturb in the poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance, and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the reſt. With this view, the latter entered Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; and, in leſs than two campaigns, made an entire conqueſt of thoſe two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, ſays Polybius, would not have been quite ſo glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloſs over their crimes with ſome ſpecious pretence; but ſo far from doing this, their injuſtice and cruelty were ſo barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally ſaid of fiſhes, that the large ones, though of the ſame ſpecies, prey on the leſſer. One would be tempted, continues the ſame author, at ſeeing the moſt ſacred laws of ſociety ſo openly violated, to accuſe Providence of being indifferent and inſenſible to the moſt horrid crimes. But it fully juſtified its conduct, by puniſhing thoſe two kings according to their deſerts; and made ſuch an example of them, as ought in all ſucceeding ages to deter others from following their example. For, whilſt they are meditating to diſpoſſeſs a weak and helpleſs infant of his kingdom, by piece-meal, Providence raiſed up the Romans againſt them, who entirely ſubverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus,

[t] Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Id. l. xv. p. 707, & 708.

chus, and reduced their ſucceſſors to almoſt as great calamities, as thoſe with which they intended to cruſh the infant king.

[u] During that time, Philip was engaged in a war againſt the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconſiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the iſland of Lade, oppoſite to the city of Miletus.

[x] The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in aſſaulting that city being to no purpoſe, he turned his rage and fury againſt the gods; and not ſatisfied with burning their temples, he demoliſhed ſtatues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the ſtones from their foundations, that not the leaſt footſteps of them might remain.

He was not more ſucceſsful againſt the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent ſucceſs, he ventured a ſecond battle off the iſland of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with conſiderable loſs. There were killed, in his army, three thouſand Macedonians, and ſix thouſand allies; and two thouſand Macedonians and confederates, with ſeven hundred Egyptians, were taken priſoners. The Rhodians loſt but ſixty men, and Attalus threeſcore and ten.

Philip aſcribed all the glory of this engagement to himſelf, and that for two reaſons: The firſt was, that having repulſed Attalus to the ſhore, he had taken that prince's ſhip; and the ſecond, that having caſt anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had ſtopped even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he aſſumed the beſt air he could, he was ſenſible of his great loſs, and could neither conceal it

[u] Polyb. in Excerp. Vales. p. 70, & 73.

[x] A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. Polyb. Ib. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

from others, nor himſelf. This prince had never loſt ſo great a number of men either by ſea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it viſibly damped his natural vivacity.

[y] Nevertheleſs, the ill ſucceſs of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was to be unſhaken in his reſolutions; and not to be dejected by diſappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible conſtancy and perſeverance; and accordingly he continued the war with freſh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date, about this time, the cruelties which Philip exerciſed over the Cianians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have unhappily been loſt. Cios, whoſe inhabitants are called Cianians, was a ſmall city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it, had been raiſed to that poſt by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he beſieged it at the requeſt of his ſon-in-law Pruſias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received ſome inſult from it. The city was in all probability taken by ſtorm. A great number of the inhabitants ſuffered the moſt cruel torments; the reſt were reduced to a ſtate of captivity, which to them was worſe than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius ſeems to aſcribe its deſtruction to the imprudence of the Cianians themſelves, who uſed to beſtow all poſts and preferments on their moſt worthleſs citizens; and to follow ſo blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to perſecute thoſe who ventured to oppoſe them. He adds, that a people, who act in this manner, plunge

y A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733—739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709—711.

plunge voluntarily into the greateſt calamities; and that it is ſurpriſing they do not correct themſelves in this reſpect by the experience of all ages; which ſhow, that the ruin of the moſt powerful ſtates is ſolely owing to the ill choice of thoſe to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the adminiſtration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Cherſoneſus, where ſeveral cities ſurrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos ſhut her gates againſt him, and even refuſed to hear the deputies he had ſent, ſo that he was forced to beſiege it. This city is in Aſia, and ſtands on the narroweſt part of the Helleſpont, now called the Dardanelles, and oppoſite to the city of Seſtus in Europe. The diſtance between theſe two cities was about two miles. The reader will ſuppoſe, that Abydos muſt be a city of great importance, as it commanded the ſtraits, and made thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of it, maſters of the communication between the Euxine Sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practiſed, in the aſſaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this ſiege. No place was ever defended with greater obſtinacy, which might be ſaid at length, on the ſide of the beſieged, to have roſe to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own ſtrength, they repulſed with the greateſt vigour the firſt approaches of the Macedonians. On the ſide next the ſea, the machines of war no ſooner came forward, but they immediately were either diſmounted by the baliſtæ, or conſumed by fire. Even the ſhips, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the beſiegers ſaved them. On the land ſide, the Abydonians alſo defended themſelves for ſome time with great courage, and did not deſpair even of defeating the enemy. But finding that the outward wall was ſapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raiſed to

ſupply

ſupply the place of the other, they ſent deputies to Philip, offering to ſurrender their city upon the following conditions: that ſuch forces, as had been ſent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, ſhould return to their reſpective ſovereigns under his ſafe-conduct; and that all free citizens ſhould retire whitherſoever they pleaſed with the clothes they then had on. Philip anſwering, that the Abydonians had only to chooſe, whether they would ſurrender at diſcretion, or continue to defend themſelves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the beſieged, in tranſports of deſpair aſſemble together, and conſider what was to be done. They came to this reſolution; firſt, that the ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmoſt vigour: ſecondly, that all the women ſhould be ſhut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children, with their nurſes, in the Gymnaſium: that this being done, they then ſhould bring into the great ſquare all the gold and ſilver in the city, and carry all the reſt of the valuable effects into the * Quadrireme of the Rhodians, and the Trireme of the Cizyceenians. This reſolution having paſſed unanimouſly, another aſſembly was called, in which they choſe fifty of the wiſeſt and moſt ancient of the citizens, but at the ſame time had vigour enough left to execute what ſhould have been determined; and they were made to take an oath in preſence of all the inhabitants, that the inſtant they ſaw the enemy maſter of the inward wall, they ſhould kill the women and children, ſet fire to the two gallies laden with their effects, and throw into the ſea all their gold and ſilver which they had heaped together: then ſending for their prieſts, they took an oath either to conquer or die, ſword in hand; and after having ſacrificed the victims, they obliged

* Quadriremes were gallies with four benches of oars, and Triremes thoſe with three.

obliged the prieſts and prieſteſſes to pronounce, before the altar, the greateſt curſes on thoſe who ſhould break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and reſolved, the inſtant the wall ſhould fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the laſt. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the beſieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with ſuch unparalleled bravery, that though Philip had perpetually ſuſtained with freſh ſoldiers thoſe who had mounted to the aſſault; yet when night ſeparated the combatants, he was ſtill doubtful with regard to the ſucceſs of the ſiege. Such Abydonians as marched firſt to the breach, over the heaps of the ſlain, fought with fury; and not only made uſe of their ſwords and javelins, but, after their arms were broken to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they ruſhed furiouſly upon the Macedonians, knocked down ſome, and broke the ſariſſæ or long ſpears of others, and with the pieces ſtruck their faces and ſuch parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely deſpair of the event.

When night had put an end to the ſlaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and thoſe who had eſcaped, were ſo prodigiouſly fatigued, and had received ſo many wounds, that they could ſcarce ſupport themſelves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful reſolution that had been taken, and which at that time diſplayed itſelf to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed, that to ſave their wives and children, they ſhould ſend to Philip, by day-break, all their prieſts and prieſteſſes, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open the gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was ſurrendered to Philip; during which the greateſt part of the Abydonians who ſurvived, vented millions

millions of imprecations againſt their fellow-citizens, and eſpecially againſt the prieſts and prieſteſſes, for delivering up to the enemy thoſe whom they themſelves had devoted to death with the moſt dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and ſeized, without the leaſt oppoſition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the ſpectacle he ſaw. Among theſe ill-fated citizens, whom deſpair had made furious and diſtracted, ſome were ſtrangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their ſwords; ſome were running to murther them, others were plunging them into wells, whilſt others again were precipitating them from the tops of houſes; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and ſeized with horror at this ſpectacle, ſtopped the ſoldiers who were greedy of plunder, and publiſhed a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were reſolved to lay violent hands on themſelves. He was in hopes, that during this interval, they would change their reſolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from thoſe who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country, ſhould they ſurvive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none eſcaped this murtherous expedition, but thoſe whoſe hands were tied, or were otherwiſe kept from deſtroying themſelves.

[z] A little before the city ſurrendered, an ambaſſador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embaſſy was ſent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had juſt before ſpread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that ſo glorioufly (with regard

[z] A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201.

regard to the Romans) terminated the ſecond Punick war. [a] The court of Egypt, being in ſo much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus againſt their infant king, had addreſſed the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianſhip of the king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch had deſired it at his death. It was the intereſt of the Romans not to ſuffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increaſe, by the addition of ſo many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time conſiſted. It was not difficult to foreſee, that they would ſoon be engaged in war with thoſe two princes, with one of whom they already had ſome differences, which threatened much greater. For theſe reaſons they had not heſitated in accepting the guardianſhip; and in conſequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their reſolution, and to enjoin them not to infeſt the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwiſe they ſhould be forced to declare war againſt them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring ſo generouſly in favour of an oppreſſed infant monarch, was making a juſt and noble uſe of their power.

At the ſame time there arrived in Rome ambaſſadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain alſo of the enterpriſes of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in perſon or by his deputies, was ſolliciting ſeveral cities of Aſia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating ſome great deſign. This was a freſh motive for haſtening the departure of the three ambaſſadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the ſiege of Abydos, they ſent to Philip the youngeſt of their colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been obſerved,

[a] Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 2, & 3. & l. xxxi. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. xxxi. n. 1, 2, & 18.

ſerved, arrived at Abydos the time that the city was upon the point of being ſurrendered, Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the ſenate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the ſtates of Greece; nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a juſt arbitration his pretenſions upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquieſced with theſe remonſtrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refuſed, the Romans would proclaim war againſt him. Philip endeavoured to ſhow, that the Rhodians had occaſioned the rupture. "But," ſays Æmilius, interrupting him, "did the Athenians and Abydonians attack you "firſt?" Philip,* who had not been uſed to hear truth, offended at the boldneſs of ſuch an anſwer addreſſed to a king; "Your age," ſays he to the ambaſſador, "your beauty," (for Polybius informs us that this ambaſſador had really a fine perſon) "and "eſpecially the Roman name, exalt your pride to a "prodigious degree. For my part, I wiſh your repub-"lic may obſerve punctually the treaties it has con-"cluded with me: but, in caſe I ſhould be invaded by "it, I hope to ſhow, that the empire of Macedonia "does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation." The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this anſwer, and Philip having taken that city, left a ſtrong garriſon in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius ſeems to have gone into Egypt, whilſt the two other ambaſſadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius, being arrived at Alexandria, aſſumed the guardianſhip of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, purſuant to the inſtructions he had received from the ſenate at his ſetting out; and ſettled every

* *Inſueto vera audire, ferocior oratio viſa eſt, quàm quæ habenda apud regem eſſet.* Ætas, *inquit*, & forma, & ſuper omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primùm velim vos fœderum memores ſervare mecum pacem. Si bello laceſſeritis, mihi quoque in animo eſt facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minùs quàm Romanum nobile bello ſentiatis. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 18.

every thing to as much advantage as the ſtate of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Ariſtomenes the Acarnanian, to ſuperintend the education and perſon of the young monarch, and made him prime miniſter. This Ariſtomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

[b] In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waſte, the pretence of which invaſion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the grand myſteries were ſolemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbid. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately maſſacred, as guilty of impiety and ſacrilege. The Acarnanians, juſtly exaſperated at ſo cruel a treatment, had recourſe to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with ſpoils.

[c] The Athenians carried their complaints againſt this enterpriſe to Rome, and were joined on that occaſion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only ſought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceaſing to infeſt the allies who were included in it. He had juſt before ſent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was ſpread that he was at that time very buſy in Aſia. This made the Romans uneaſy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war againſt Carthage, they imagined it adviſeable to prevent the enterpriſes of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in caſe they ſhould give him time to increaſe his ſtrength. The ſenate, after making ſuch an anſwer as

[b] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14. [c] Ibid. n. 1—3.

as pleaſed all the ambaſſadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the proprætor, to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

[d] In the mean time the Roman ſenate deliberated ſeriouſly on what was to be done in the preſent juncture. At the very time it aſſembled to conſider that important affair, a ſecond embaſſy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in perſon; and that in caſe they were not immediately ſuccoured, he would infallibly make himſelf maſter of Athens. They alſo received letters from Levinus the proprætor, and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed that they had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe that Philip had ſome deſign againſt them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to loſe.

[e] Upon this news, the Romans reſolved to proclaim war againſt Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the conſul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to ſea with an army, and ſoon arrived there. Here he was ſoon informed that Athens was beſieged, and implored his aſſiſtance. He detached a ſquadron of twenty gallies, commanded by Claudius Cento, who ſet ſail that inſtant. Philip had not laid ſiege to Athens in perſon, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpoſe; having taken the field in perſon againſt Attalus and the Rhodians.

[d] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 5.
[e] A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Expeditions of the conſul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themſelves. Philip loſes a battle. Villius ſucceeds Sulpitius. No conſiderable tranſaction happens during his government. Flaminius ſucceeds him. Antiochus recovers Cœloſyria, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed by Ariſtomenes, the prime miniſter of Egypt. Various expeditions of the conſul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans.*

[f] CLAUDIUS CENTO, whom the conſul had ſent to ſuccour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his gallies, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not ſatisfied with ſecuring the city and the country round it; but having advice that the garriſon of Chalcis did not obſerve the leaſt order or diſcipline, as remote from danger, he ſailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the ſentinels aſleep, entered it without moleſtation; ſet fire to the public magazines which were full of corn, and to the arſenal that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garriſon to pieces; and after carrying on board his ſhips the immenſe booty he had amaſſed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the inſtant he heard of the diſaſter which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Romans. However, they were gone; ſo that he ſeemed to have come for no other purpoſe, but to be ſpectator of that city, ſtill burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the ſame manner, if one of the couriers, called * Hemerodromi, who perceived

[f] A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 22—26.

* They were ſo called from running a great number of miles in one day.

perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was poſted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all aſleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that his ſtratagem had not taken effect, he reſolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their ſoldiers in battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylos; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed ſeveral of them with his own hand, repulſed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviſable to purſue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country ſeats, on the places for the public exerciſes, as the Lyceum, and eſpecially on ſuch temples as ſtood without the city; ſetting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not ſparing either the tombs or the moſt ſacred places.

He marched from hence with a view of ſurpriſing Eleuſis, where his project alſo proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their aſſembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had ſucceeded Machanidas, and infeſted the whole country with his incurſions. Philip offered to charge himſelf entirely with that war, and his propoſal was received with univerſal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much: that they ſhould furniſh him with as many troops as were neceſſary for garriſoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they ſhould not leave the places behind him without defence, whilſt he was fighting for them. They perceived that his deſign was to draw out of Peloponneſus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himſelf maſter of it, and engage it in the war againſt the Romans. Cycliadus, who preſided in the aſſembly, eluded the propoſal,

propoſal, by obſerving, that it was not allowed, by their laws, to debate on any ſubject but that for which the aſſembly had been ſummoned. They therefore broke up, after having reſolved upon the war againſt Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a ſecond attempt upon Athens, which ſucceeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of ſuch temples, ſtatues, and valuable works, as remained in that country. After this expedition, he retired into Bœotia.

[g] The conſul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, ſent to Macedonia a conſiderable detachment, under the command of Apuſtius the lieutenant, who laid waſte the plains, and took ſeveral ſmall cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians to their ſide. They were now going to hold their general aſſembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, ſent their ambaſſadors; he who was deputed by Philip ſpoke firſt. All he required was, that the Ætolians ſhould obſerve ſtrictly the treaty of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how uſeleſs their alliance with the Romans was to them. He inſtanced ſeveral cities, of which that people had poſſeſſed themſelves, upon pretence of ſuccouring them, as Syracuſe, Tarentum, Capua; the laſt city eſpecially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the ſkeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither ſenate, inhabitants, nor magiſtrates; more barbarouſly uſed by thoſe who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely deſtroyed it. "If foreigners," ſays he, "who differ from us more by their language, ... "their

[g] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 27—32.

" their manners, and their laws, than by the wide " diſtance of land and ſea which ſeparate us from " them, ſhould diſpoſſeſs us of this country, it would " be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment " from them, than their neighbours have met with. " Among us, who are of the ſame country, whether " Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who " ſpeak the ſame language, ſlight diſputes may ariſe " with little or no conſequence or duration; but with " foreigners, with Barbarians, we, whilſt we are " Greeks, are, and ſhall for ever be at war. This " time three years you concluded a peace with Phi- " lip in this very place; now the ſame cauſes ſtill " ſubſiſt; and we hope that you will act in the ſame " manner."

The Athenian ambaſſadors, by the conſent of the Romans, ſpoke next. They began by diſplaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and ſacrilegious fury which Philip had exerciſed on the moſt ſacred monuments of Attica, on the moſt auguſt temples, and the moſt aweful tombs; as if he had declared war, not only againſt men, and the living, but againſt the manes of the dead, and the majeſty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece muſt expect the ſame treatment, if Philip ſhould have the like occaſions. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compaſſion of Athens, and to undertake, under the auſpices of the gods, and of the Romans, whoſe power only that of the gods could equal, ſo juſt a war as that propoſed to them.

The Roman ambaſſador, after having refuted very circumſtantially the reproaches of the Macedonians, with reſpect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities ſuffer; and exemplified in Carthage, which, but juſt before, had been allowed a peace, and was reſtored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumſtance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildneſs and lenity which they exerciſed

erciſed towards thoſe they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms againſt them, becauſe the vanquiſhed might depend on the Roman clemency. He repreſented in a ſhort, but ſtrong and pathetic ſpeech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murthers committed by him on his own family, and his friends; his infamous debaucheries, which were ſtill more deteſted than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the perſons whom he then addreſſed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But, to "confine my ſpeech to what relates directly to you," ſays the ambaſſador, addreſſing himſelf to the Ætolians, "we engaged in the war againſt Philip, in no "other view than to defend you; and you have con- "cluded a ſeparate peace with him. Poſſibly you "may obſerve in your own juſtification, that ſeeing "us employed in the war againſt the Carthagi- "nians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged "to ſubmit to whatever conditions the victor was "pleaſed to preſcribe; whilſt we, on the other ſide, "employed in affairs of greater importance, neglect- "ed a war which you had renounced. However, "having now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the "Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole "force of our arms againſt Macedonia. This gives "you an opportunity of returning to our friendſhip "and alliance, unleſs you ſhould chooſe to periſh in- "gloriouſly with Philip, rather than conquer with the "Romans."

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this ſpeech would gain all the voices. It is ſaid, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without ſeeming inclined on either ſide, he repreſented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the aſſembly would otherwiſe have had; and boaſted his having done a very eſſential ſervice to the republic, which now (he ſaid) might

might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the ſtrongeſt party.

[h] In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by ſea and land: but the conſul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Daſſaretæ, and Philip had alſo taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each ſent out a detachment upon the diſcovery, and the two parties met. As both conſiſted entirely of choſen troops, a bloody ſkirmiſh enſued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the ſpot.

The king, perſuaded that the care he ſhould take to bury thoſe who had loſt their lives in this ſkirmiſh, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his ſoldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his ſervice, cauſed their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye witneſſes of the honours paid to their memory.

* Nothing is leſs to be relied upon than the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the vulgar. This ſpectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the ſoldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed ſcarce any other weapons but arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reaſon the wounds they made were not ſo deep. But when they ſaw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gaſhes, made by the Spaniſh ſabres, whole arms cut off, ſhoulders lopped away, and heads ſeparated from the bodies, they were terrified at the ſight, and plainly perceived againſt what kind of enemy they were to act.

The

[h] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33—39.

* *Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæſtimabile eſt, quàm animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad ſubeundam omnem dimiciationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incuſſit.* Liv.

The king himſelf, who had never ſeen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this ſight. Being informed by ſome deſerters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides, and marched thither with his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; and poſted himſelf at a little above two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches, and ſtrong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and diſpoſition of the Roman camp, he cried out, *That what he ſaw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The conſul and the King were quiet for the firſt two days, each waiting till the other ſhould make ſome movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached againſt the enemy a body conſiſting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horſe, and the other foot; againſt whom the Romans oppoſed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided, with no leſs prudence, an ambuſcade, which the King had laid for them. Theſe two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by ſtratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman ſoldiers. The conſul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repoſe, he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and for that reaſon he lay cloſe in his camp, in ſpite of all the inſults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanneſs of ſpirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay ſo near one another, would be very dangerous, the conſul drew off to about eight miles' diſtance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers diſ-

* The ſame words are aſcribed to Pyrrhus.

perſed themſelves all over the neighbouring country in ſeparate platoons. The king at firſt lay cloſe in his entrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reaſon be leſs vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreſeen. When he ſaw great numbers of them ſpread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a ſudden with all his horſe, whom the Cretans followed as faſt as it was poſſible for infantry to march, and rode full ſpeed to poſt himſelf between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them againſt the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who ſhould come in their way; whilſt he himſelf ſeized all the paſſes by which they could return. And now nothing was ſeen on all ſides but blood and ſlaughter: during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, becauſe ſuch as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and thoſe who guarded the paſſes, killed a much greater number than the others detached in purſuit of the enemy.

At laſt the melancholy news of the ſlaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the conſul ordered the cavalry to march out, and ſuccour their comrades wherever they could: as for himſelf, he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in a hollow ſquare againſt the enemy. The troopers, being diſperſed up and down, loſt their way at firſt; being deceived by the ſhouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of theſe parties fell in with the enemy, and ſkirmiſhes were fought in different places at the ſame time. The warmeſt engagement was where the king himſelf commanded, and which, by the great number of the horſe and foot that compoſed it, formed almoſt an army: not to mention that theſe troops, being prodigiouſly animated by the preſence of the king and the Cretans, who fought cloſe together, and with the utmoſt vigour, againſt enemies diſperſed and in diſorder, killed great num-

bers of them. It is certain that, had they not purſued the Romans ſo vigorouſly, this day might have decided, not only the preſent battle, but perhaps the ſucceſs of the whole war. But, by abandoning themſelves to a raſh and inconſiderate ardour, they fell into the midſt of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the ſoldiers that fled, perceiving the Roman enſigns faced about, and puſhed their horſes againſt the enemy, who were all in diſorder. In an inſtant the face of the battle was quite changed; thoſe who purſued before, now flying in their turn. Many were killed in cloſe fight, and many loſt their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the ſword, but ſeveral plunging into moraſſes, were ſwallowed up, with their horſes, in the mire. The king himſelf was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horſe, which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horſe, and mounted him on it: but the man himſelf, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compaſs round the fens, came at laſt to the camp, where he had been given over for loſt.

We have ſeen on many occaſions, and it cannot be too ſtrongly inculcated to thoſe of the military profeſſion, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often loſt by the too great ardour of the officers, who, ſolely intent upon purſuing the enemy, forget and neglect what paſſes in the reſt of the army, and ſuffer themſelves to be deprived, through an imprudent deſire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have ſecured.

However, Philip had not loſt a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a ſecond; and was afraid leſt the conqueror ſhould advance to attack him ſuddenly. He therefore diſpatched a herald to the conſul, to deſire a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to bury the dead. The conſul, who was

at dinner, ſent word that he ſhould have an anſwer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp, ſet out from it, without noiſe, the inſtant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the conſul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to purſue him.

[i] Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himſelf with the hopes of intercepting him at ſome paſſes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of ſtones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was ſuperior to all theſe difficulties. The conſul, after laying waſte the country, and ſeizing upon ſeveral fortreſſes, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had ſet out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event, in order to take up arms, declared without the leaſt heſitation for the Romans, and the Athamanians followed their example. Both people made ſome incurſions into Macedonia, but with ill ſucceſs, Philip having defeated them on ſeveral occaſions. He alſo defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his abſence; and with theſe ſmall advantages, conſoled himſelf for his ill ſucceſs againſt the Romans.

[k] In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus, and came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to diſſemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the ſight of ſo powerful a ſuccour. In a free city* like that of Athens,

[i] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39—43. [k] Ibid. n. 44—47.

* *Nec unquam ibi deſunt linguæ promptæ ad plebam concitandam; quod genus, cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur.* Liv.

Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever reſolutions they pleaſed. Here the people, at their requeſt, ordained that all the ſtatues and images of Philip and his anceſtors ſhould be deſtroyed: that the feſtivals, ſacrifices, and prieſts, eſtabliſhed in their honour, ſhould be aboliſhed; that every place where any monument had been ſet up, or inſcription engraved relating to them, ſhould be declared impure and profane: that the prieſts, every time they offered up prayers to the gods in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies, and fleets, ſhould alſo utter anathemas and curſes of every kind againſt Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by ſea and land; in a word, againſt the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, That whatever might be afterwards propoſed, which tended in any manner to diſhonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people: and that whoſoever ſhould dare to ſay or do any thing in favour of Philip, or againſt the decrees in queſtion, might be killed upon the ſpot, without any formality. This laſt clauſe was, That whatever had been enacted againſt the Piſiſtratides, ſhould take place againſt Philip. In this manner the Athenians* made war againſt Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only ſtrength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now laviſhed encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræus, attacked and took ſeveral fortreſſes and ſmall iſlands; after which Attalus and the Romans ſeparated, and went into winter-quarters.

In

* *Athenienſes quidem literis verbiſque, quibus ſolis valent, bellum adverſus Philippum gerebant.* LIV.

[1] In Rome the year following, new conſuls being choſen, Vilius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilſt he made the ſeveral preparations for carrying on the enſuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the ſucceſs of the war he had undertaken. Beſides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to ſtates, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneaſy at, and diſſatisfied with his government, would rebel againſt him.

To obviate theſe dangers, he gave up ſome cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more ſtrongly to his intereſt by this unexpected generoſity; and at the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a ſtrong tye; ſuch a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; as he himſelf profeſſed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the leaſt ſcruple to forfeit his promiſe, nor ſhow the leaſt veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind conſider as moſt ſacred?

[m] As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by ſacrificing Heraclides, one of his miniſters and confidents, whom the people hated and deteſted on account of his rapine and grievous oppreſſions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exerciſed the meaneſt and moſt contemptible offices, and had been baniſhed from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of ſenſe, of a lively genius, a daring ſpirit, and at the ſame time ſo inſatiably ambitious,

[1] A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49. & l. xxxii. n. 3.
[m] Polyb. l. xiii. p. 672, 673.

ambitious, as not to ſcruple the commiſſion of the blackeſt crimes, had attached him to himſelf in a particular manner, and truſted him with all his ſecrets; a fit inſtrument for a prince, who had neither probity nor honour. Heraclides, ſays Polybius, was born with all thoſe qualities which conſtitute the finiſhed villain. From his moſt tender years he had proſtituted himſelf in the moſt infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meaneſt and moſt groveling manner towards his ſuperiors. He was in ſuch great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the ſame author, he almoſt ruined that powerful kingdom, by the univerſal diſcontent which his injuſtice and oppreſſion occaſioned. At laſt the king cauſed him to be ſeized and thrown into priſon, which occaſioned an univerſal joy amongſt the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this ſubject, hiſtory does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deſerved.

Nothing conſiderable was tranſacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, becauſe the conſuls did not enter Macedonia till very late; and the reſt of the time was ſpent in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, either to force certain paſſes, or to carry off convoys. * T. Quintius * Flamininus having been nominated conſul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predeceſſors, but ſet out from Rome at the opening of the ſpring, with Lucius his brother, who, by the leave of the ſenate, was to command the fleet.

At the beginning of the year in queſtion, Antiochus invaded Attalus very vigorouſly both by ſea and land. The ambaſſadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the ſenate of the great danger to which their ſovereign was expoſed. They intreated the Romans, in Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence

* A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9—15.

* Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, theſe being two different families.

fence with the forces of the republick, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The ſenate made anſwer, That as nothing could be more juſt and reaſonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces; that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to diſſuade him from moleſting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans ſent ambaſſadors to the former, who remonſtrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed againſt Philip their common enemy: that they ſhould think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that ſuch kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans ſhould be at peace. Theſe remonſtrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The inſtant he had, at the requeſt of the Romans, laid aſide his deſigns againſt that prince, he marched in perſon into Cœloſyria, to recover thoſe cities of which Ariſtomenes had diſpoſſeſſed him. The Romans had entruſted this general with the adminiſtration of Egypt. The firſt thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himſelf againſt the invaſion of the two confederate kings, and for this purpoſe he raiſed the beſt troops he could. [o] He ſent Scopas into Ætolia with large ſums of money, to levy as many troops as poſſible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the beſt ſoldiers. [p] This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the higheſt poſts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the braveſt and moſt experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of being continued in it, but was diſappointed. This gave him diſguſt, ſo that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the ſervice of the king of Egypt.

[o] A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43.
[p] Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.

Egypt. Scopas had ſuch good ſucceſſes in his levies, that he brought ſix thouſand ſoldiers from Ætolia; a good re-inforcement for the Egyptian army.

[q] The miniſters of Alexandria, ſeeing Antiochus employed in Aſia Minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, ſent Scopas into Paleſtine and Cœloſyria, to recover, if poſſible, thoſe provinces. He carried on that war ſo ſucceſsfully, that he recovered the ſeveral cities, retook Judæa, threw a garriſon into the citadel of Jeruſalem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria; whither he brought (beſides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich ſpoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the ſequel, that the great ſucceſs of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being abſent, and to the little reſiſtance which had therefore been made.

[r] He no ſooner arrived there in perſon, but the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the ſource of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great ſlaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he ſhut himſelf up with the ten thouſand men he had left. Antiochus beſieged him in it, and reduced him to ſuch extremities, that being in abſolute want of proviſions, he was forced to ſurrender the city, and content himſelf with having his life ſpared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmoſt efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the beſt generals at the head of the choiceſt troops of the ſtate, had been ſent to raiſe the ſiege. But Antiochus diſpoſed things ſo happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious conditions above-mentioned;

[q] A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Hierom. in c. xi. Dan. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

[r] A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

[s] Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him; and accordingly, having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and returning back, subjected all Palestine and Cœlosyria.

[t] The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities; being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner-part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made, on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

[u] Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews, transplanted at this time, that descended many of those* who were "dispersed or scattered abroad," whom we

[s] Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87. & Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19.
[t] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. [u] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

* They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter. To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad. Jam. i. 1. To the strangers scattered about Pontius, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Pet. i. 1.

we ſhall afterwards find ſo numerous, eſpecially in the goſpel times.

Antiochus, having thus ſubjected all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, reſolved, if poſſible, to make the like conqueſts in Aſia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raiſe the empire of Syria to its priſtine glory, by re-uniting to it all that his predeceſſors had ever poſſeſſed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. [x] As it would be neceſſary, for ſucceeding in his deſign, to prevent the Egyptians from moleſting him in his new conqueſts, at a time that he ſhould be at a diſtance from his kingdom, he ſent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition that they ſhould not celebrate their nuptials till they ſhould be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up thoſe provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This propoſal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on his promiſes, ſuffered him to carry on his conqueſts without moleſtation.

[y] I now reſume the affairs of Macedonia. I obſerved that Quintius Flamininus (by either of which names I ſhall call him hereafter) had ſet out from Rome as ſoon as he had been appointed conſul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Vilius encamped in preſence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the paſſes and defiles along the banks of the Apſus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himſelf the command of the forces, the firſt thing he did was to conſider and examine the ſituation of the country. As this paſs ſeemed impracticable to an army, becauſe there was but one narrow ſteep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were poſſeſſed of the avenues; he therefore

[x] Hierom. in c. xi. Daniel. [y] A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198.

was adviſed to take a large compaſs, as this would bring him to a wide ſmooth road. But, beſides that he muſt have employed too much time in this winding march, he was afraid to move too far from the ſea, from whence he had all his proviſions. For this reaſon, he reſolved to go over the mountains, and to force the paſſes, whatever might be the conſequence.

Philip having in vain made propoſals of peace, in an interview between him and the conſul, was obliged to have recourſe again to arms. Accordingly, ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by ſteep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, purſuing them to thoſe places, were greatly annoyed: the Macedonians having planted on all theſe rocks catapultæ and baliſtæ, overwhelmed them with ſtones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both ſides, and night ſeparated the combatants.

Matters being in this ſtate, ſome ſhepherds, who fed their ſheep in theſe mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way which was not guarded; and promiſed to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at fartheſt. They brought with them as their guarantee, Charops, ſon of Machatas, the perſon of the greateſt diſtinction among the Epirots, who ſecretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus having ſuch a voucher, ſends a general with four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. Theſe ſhepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a ſurpriſe, led the detachment. During theſe three days, the conſul contented himſelf with only a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes to amuſe the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he cauſed his whole army to ſtand to their arms; perceiving on the mountains a great ſmoke, which was the ſignal agreed upon between them, he marches directly againſt the enemy, perpetually expoſed

poſed to the darts of the Macedonians, and ſtill fighting hand to hand againſt thoſe who guarded the paſſes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulſe the enemy with great vigour into the moſt craggy ways; making great ſhouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter anſwered from the ſummit of it, with a moſt dreadful noiſe; and at the ſame time fall upon the Macedonians, who, ſeeing themſelves attacked both in front and rear, are ſtruck with a panick, and fly with the utmoſt ſpeed. However, not above two thouſand of them were killed, the paths being ſo craggy and ſteep, that it was impoſſible to purſue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and ſeized their tents and ſlaves.

Philip had marched at firſt towards Theſſaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to ſuccour ſuch cities as ſhould be beſieged.

The conſul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waſte the country, although he knew that all perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in it, Charops excepted, had oppoſed the Romans. However, as they ſubmitted with great chearfulneſs, he had a greater regard to their preſent diſpoſition, than to their paſt fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Theſſaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken ſeveral cities in that country; and he took the moſt conſiderable of them. Atrax, a city he beſieged, detained him a long time, and made ſo ſtout a defence, that he at laſt was forced to leave it.

[z] In the mean time the Roman fleet, re-inforced by thoſe of Attalus and the Rhodians, was alſo active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariſte, garriſoned by Macedonians; after which, the

[z] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 16——25.

the three fleets advanced towards Cenchreæ, a port of Corinth.

The conſul marching into Phocis, moſt of the cities ſurrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that ſhut her gates againſt him; ſo that he was obliged to beſiege it in form. Whilſt he was carrying on this ſiege, he meditated an important deſign; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying ſiege to Corinth; however before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambaſſadors ſent in the conſul's name by Lucius, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this meſſage. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loſs in regard to the reſolution it was neceſſary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and, on the other ſide, they were in ſtill greater dread of the Romans. They had received, from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was univerſally ſuſpected, upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enſlaved by him, when the war ſhould be terminated. Such was the diſpoſition of the Achæans. The Roman ambaſſador ſpoke firſt, and afterwards thoſe of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip: The Athenians were appointed to ſpeak laſt, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambaſſador ſhould advance. They ſpoke with the greater virulency againſt the king, becauſe no people had been ſo cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injuſtice and cruelty in regard to them. Theſe ſpeeches took up the whole day, ſo that the aſſembly was put off till the morrow.

All

All the members being met, the herald, as was the cuſtom, gave notice, in the name of the magiſtrates, that all thoſe who intended to ſpeak, might begin. But no one roſe up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep ſilence. Upon this Ariſtenes, chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, in order that the aſſembly might not break up without doing buſineſs, ſpoke as follows: "What then is become of that "warmth and vigour, with which you uſed to diſ- "pute, at your tables, and in your converſations, "about Philip and the Romans; which generally roſe "to ſo great a height, that you were ready to cut "one another's throats? And now, in an aſſembly "ſummoned for no other purpoſe, after hearing the "ſpeeches and arguments on both ſides, you are "mute! Surely, if the love of your country cannot "looſe your tongues, ought not the reſolution which "each of you has formed in private, either for or "againſt Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to "ſpeak; eſpecially as there is none of you but knows "that it will be too late, after the reſolution ſhall be "once taken?"

Theſe reproaches, though ſo judicious and reaſonable, and made by the principal magiſtrate, could not prevail with any one of the members to give his opinion; nor even occaſion the leaſt murmur, the leaſt noiſe in this aſſembly, though ſo very numerous, and compoſed of the repreſentatives of ſo many ſtates. Every body continued dumb and motionleſs.

Ariſtenes then ſpoke again to this effect; "Chiefs "of the Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want "courage more than counſel; ſince not one among "you dares to ſpeak his ſentiments, with regard to "the common intereſt. Was I a private man, I "poſſibly might act as you do; but being the chief "magiſtrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either "that the ambaſſadors ſhould not have been allowed "to aſſemble us, or that they ſhould not be diſmiſſed "without ſome anſwer. Now, how will it be

"poſſible

" poſſible for me to make any, unleſs you authoriſe " me by a decree? But, ſince not one among you " will, or dares ſpeak his thoughts, let us ſuppoſe " for a moment, that the ſpeeches of the ambaſſadors " which we heard yeſterday, are ſo many counſels they " give, not for their own intereſt, but purely for ours; " and let us weigh them maturely. The Romans, " the Rhodians, and Attalus, deſire our friendſhip " and alliance; and they requeſt us to aſſiſt them in " their war againſt Philip. On the other ſide, the " latter puts us in mind of the treaty which we con- " cluded with him, and ſealed and ratified by an oath: " One moment he requires us to join with him, and " the next he inſiſts upon our obſerving a ſtrict neu- " trality. Is no one among you ſurpriſed to hear " thoſe, who are not yet our allies, demand more " than he who has long been a confederate? Doubt- " leſs, it is not either modeſty in Philip, nor teme- " rity in the Romans, which prompts them to act " and ſpeak as they do. This difference in their ſen- " timents, ariſes from the diſparity of their ſtrength " and ſituation. My meaning is; we ſee nothing " here belonging to Philip, but his ambaſſador; " whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor near " Cenchreæ, laden with the ſpoils of Eubœa; and " the conſul and his legions, who are but at a little " diſtance from the fleet, lay waſte Phocis and Lo- " cris with impunity. You are ſurpriſed that " Cleomedon, Philip's ambaſſador, ſhould have ad- " viſed you, in ſo fearful and reſerved a manner, to " take up arms in favour of the king againſt the Ro- " mans. If in conſequence of the treaty in queſtion, " and of the oath on which he lays ſuch ſtreſs, we " ſhould require Philip to defend us againſt Nabis, " the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he would " not have any anſwer to make, much leſs would he " be able to give us any real ſuccour. This we ex- " perienced laſt year, when notwithſtanding the ex- " preſs words of our alliance, and the mighty pro-

" miſes

" miſes he made us, he ſuffered Nabis and the Lace-
" dæmonians to ravage our lands without oppoſition.
" In my opinion, Cleomedon ſeemed evidently to
" contradict himſelf in every part of his ſpeech. He
" ſpoke with contempt of the war againſt the Ro-
" mans, pretending it would have the ſame ſucceſs,
" as that which they had already made with Philip.
" Why then does he implore our ſuccour at a diſ-
" tance, and by an ambaſſador; inſtead of coming
" and defending us in perſon (we who are his ancient
" allies) againſt Nabis and the Romans? Why did
" he ſuffer Eretria and Cariſte to be taken? Why
" has he abandoned ſo many cities of Theſſaly, and
" every part of Phocis and Locris? Why does he
" ſuffer Elatia to be beſieged at this inſtant? Was
" it a ſuperior ſtrength; was it fear, or his own
" will, that made him abandon the defiles of Epirus,
" and give up to the enemy thoſe inſuperable bar-
" riers, to go and conceal himſelf in the moſt re-
" mote part of his kingdom? If he has voluntarily
" abandoned ſo many allies to the mercy of the ene-
" my, ought he to keep them from providing for their
" own ſafety? But, if he was actuated by fear, he
" ought to forgive the ſame weakneſs in us. If he
" has been forced to it, do you, O Cleomedon, be-
" lieve, that it is poſſible for us Achæans, to make
" head againſt the Roman arms, to which the Mace-
" donians have been obliged to ſubmit? No com-
" pariſon can be made between the paſt and the pre-
" ſent war. The Romans, at that time employed in
" affairs of greater importance, gave their allies little
" or no aid. Now they have put an end to the
" Punic war, which they ſuſtained ſixteen years in
" the centre of Italy, they do not ſend ſuccours to the
" Ætolians, but they themſelves, at the head of their
" armies, invade Philip both by ſea and land. Quin-
" tius, the third conſul whom they have ſent againſt
" him, having found him in a poſt which ſeemed in-
" acceſſible, did nevertheleſs force him from it,

" plundered

" plundered his camp, purſued him to Theſſaly, and " took, almoſt in his ſight, the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes " belonging to his allies. I will take it for granted, " that whatever the Athenian ambaſſador has ad- " vanced concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and " the exceſſes of Philip, is not true; that the crimes " which he committed in Attica do not any way af- " fect us, any more than thoſe he perpetrated in " many other places againſt the gods celeſtial, ter- " reſtrial, and infernal; that we even ought to bury " in everlaſting oblivion, the injuries we have ſuffered " for him. In a word, if we ſuppoſe that we are not " treating with Philip, but with Antigonus, a mild " and juſt prince, and from whom we all have re- " ceived the greateſt ſervices; would he make a de- " mand like that of to-day, ſo evidently oppoſite to " our ſafety and preſervation? In caſe Nabis and " his Lacedæmonians ſhould come and invade us by " land, and the Roman fleet by ſea, will it be poſſi- " ble for the king to ſupport us againſt ſuch formida- " ble enemies, or ſhall we be able to defend ourſelves? " Paſt tranſactions point out to what we muſt expect " hereafter. The medium which is propoſed, of our " ſtanding neuter, will infallibly render us a prey " to the conqueror, who will not fail to attack us as " cunning politicians, who waited for the event, be- " fore we would declare ourſelves. Believe what I " ſay, when I aſſure you there is no medium. We " muſt either have the Romans for our friends or for " our enemies; and they are come to us with a ſtrong " fleet, to offer us their friendſhip and their aid. To " refuſe ſo advantageous an offer, and ſlight ſo fa- " vourable an occaſion, which will never return, " would be the higheſt folly, and ſhow that we run " voluntarily on our own deſtruction."

This ſpeech was followed by a great noiſe and murmuring throughout the wholly aſſembly, ſome applauding it with joy, and others oppoſing it with violence. The magiſtrates, called *Demiurgi*, were no leſs divi-

ded

ded among themſelves. Of theſe, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his aſſembly, and before his people; and the other five proteſted againſt it, upon pretence that the laws forbad both the magiſtrate to propoſe, and the aſſembly to paſs, any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely ſpent in quarrels, and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the aſſembly to end. The debates grew ſo hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could ſcarce forbear ſtriking their ſons. Memnon of Pellene, was one of the five magiſtrates who refuſed to make the report. His father, whoſe name was Rhiſiaſes, intreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own ſafety; and not expoſe them, by his obſtinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he ſwore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, conſidering him, not as his ſon, but the enemy of his country. Theſe terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made ſuch an impreſſion on Memnon, that he at laſt acquieſced.

The next day, the majority in the aſſembly deſiring to have the affair debated, and the people diſcovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and ſome of the Argives, withdrew from the aſſembly before the decree paſſed: And no one took offence at this, becauſe they had particular obligations to Philip, who alſo had lately done them very conſiderable ſervices. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other ſtates, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and ſuſpended the entire concluſion of that with the Romans, till ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In

In the mean time, three ambaſſadors were ſent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the conſul's brother, had already beſieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at firſt carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would ſoon ariſe between the garriſon and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all ſides, and various aſſaults were made, which the beſieged ſuſtained with great vigour, and always repulſed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deſerters, who, in caſe the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in deſpair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a freſh re-inforcement into the city, and the Romans deſpairing to force it; at laſt Lucius acquieſced with the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the ſiege was raiſed. The Achæans being ſent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleets. The former ſailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilſt the fleets beſieged Corinth, T. Quintius the conſul, was employed in the ſiege of Elatea, where he was more ſucceſsful: For, after the beſieged had made a ſtout and vigorous reſiſtance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the ſame time, ſuch of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles, one of his generals. Thus, notwithſtanding the alliance which the Achæans had juſt before concluded with the Romans, Philip ſtill poſſeſſed two of the ſtrongeſt cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Flamininus is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with Philip about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sickness and death of Attalus. Flamininus defeats Philip in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly. A peace concluded with Philip, which puts an end to the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when advice is brought that they are restored to their ancient liberty by the Romans.*

[a] NEW consuls were appointed at Rome, but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, were justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

[b] The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent a herald to him, to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliadus, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynander, king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his propo-

sals,

[a] A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27, & 28.
[b] Ibid. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

poſals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip anſwered them, and as he began to inveigh againſt the Ætolians, Phineas, their magiſtrate, interrupted him in theſe words: "We are not met here "merely about words; our buſineſs is, either to "conquer ſword in hand, or to ſubmit to the moſt "powerful."——"A blind man may ſee that," replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas, whoſe ſight was bad. Philip* was very fond of jeſts, and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the moſt ſerious affairs: a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This firſt interview being ſpent in conteſts, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purpoſely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time ſufficient for anſwering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his propoſals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip deſired that the deciſion might be ſuſpended till the next day; promiſing that he himſelf would comply in caſe it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earneſtly intreated Quintius and the allies not to oppoſe a peace; promiſing, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himſelf ſhould preſcribe, or accept of ſuch as the ſenate might require. They could not refuſe ſo reaſonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed, but on condition, that his troops ſhould immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the ſeveral parties ſent ambaſſadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, thoſe of the allies were heard firſt. They inveighed heavily againſt Philip upon ſeveral accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the ſituation of the places, that in caſe he ſhould

* *Erat dicacior naturâ quam regem decet, & ne inter ſeria quidem riſu ſatis temperans.* LIV.

ſhould continue poſſeſſed of Demetrias in Theſſaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia (cities which he himſelf juſtly, though inſolently, calls the ſhackles of Greece) it would be impoſſible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambaſſadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a ſubject that would have ſpun to a great length, they were interrupted, and aſked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in queſtion? Having anſwered, that no orders or inſtructions had been given them on that head, they were ſent back, without being gratified in a ſingle demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace, or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the ſenate would not be diſſatisfied at the latter; and he himſelf was much better pleaſed to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and ſent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any propoſals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary, entirely to quit Greece.

[c] Philip was now firmly reſolved to make the neceſſary preparations for war. As it would be difficult for him to preſerve the cities of Achæa, through their great diſtance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a truſt, which he was to ſurrender back to him, in caſe he ſhould be victorious in this war; but, if things ſhould fall out otherwiſe, he then was to poſſeſs it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houſes and poſſeſſions of ſuch of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and thoſe who ſtaid behind were robbed of all their gold and ſilver, and taxed in very heavy ſums. Thoſe who gave their money readily and chearfully, were not moleſted; but ſuch as were either ſuſpected to conceal their riches, or diſcovered

[c] Liv. l. iii. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

covered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like ſo many ſlaves, and treated with the utmoſt indignity. Nabis, having ſummoned the aſſembly, the firſt decree he enacted was for aboliſhing of debts; and the ſecond, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out to win the affections of the common people, and exaſperate them againſt the rich.

The tyrant ſoon forgot from whom, and on what condition he held the city. He ſent ambaſſadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint him that he was maſter of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to ſuch conditions of a treaty as he was deſirous of concluding with them. His propoſal was accepted: In conſequence of which the proconſul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a ſtep which ſeemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans inſiſted that Nabis ſhould furniſh them with troops, and diſcontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the firſt article, but would conſent only to a four months' truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on thoſe conditions. This alliance with ſuch a tyrant as Nabis, ſo infamous for his injuſtice and cruelty, reflects diſhonour on the Romans; but in war, ſoldiers think themſelves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a ſtrong garriſon into Argos, had plundered all the men, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all their riches: A little after he ſent his wife thither, to uſe the ladies in the ſame manner. Accordingly, ſhe ſent for the women of the greateſt diſtinction, either ſeparately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, ſhe extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but alſo their richeſt clothes, their moſt valuable moveables, and all their precious ſtones and jewels.

When

[d] When the ſpring was come (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter) Quintius and Attalus reſolved, if poſſible, to ſecure the alliance of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with ſome ambaſſadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common aſſembly met. They were ſecretly favoured and ſupported by Antiphalus the chief magiſtrate. The Bœotians thought at firſt that they had come without forces and unguarded; but were greatly ſurpriſed when they ſaw Quintius followed by a conſiderable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the aſſembly. It was ſummoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and ſurpriſe; and indeed it would have been of no uſe, and even dangerous to have diſcovered them.

Attalus ſpoke firſt, and expatiated on the ſervices which his anceſtors and himſelf had done all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and ſpeaking with greater vehemence than ſuited his age, he fell down in the midſt of his ſpeech, and ſeemed half dead; ſo that they were forced to carry him out of the aſſembly, which interrupted their deliberations for ſome time. Ariſthenes, captain-general of the Achæans ſpoke next: and after him Quintius, who did not ſpeak much; and laid greater ſtreſs on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimouſly reſolved upon; no one daring to oppoſe, or ſpeak againſt it.

As Attalus's diſorder did not ſeem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly ſatisfied with the double alliance he had concluded

[d] Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 1. 2.

with the Aehæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention, and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

[e] As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength he was carried to Pergamus, where he died soon after, aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most great men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres, and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

[f] The armies on both sides had set out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here

[e] Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.
[f] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 754—762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3. 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

Here Polybius, and Livy who frequently copies him, ſhow the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans uſed the ſtakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the beſt ſtakes were thoſe round whoſe trunk a greater number of branches were ſpread, which made them ſo much the heavier; beſides, as the arms of the Grecian ſoldiers were ſo ponderous that they could ſcarce carry them, they conſequently could not eaſily carry ſtakes at the ſame time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at moſt four branches to each ſtake they cut, and all of them on the ſame ſide. In this manner the ſoldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and eſpecially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his ſhoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

Further, the latter kind of ſtakes do much greater ſervice. Thoſe of the Greeks might very eaſily be pulled up. As this ſtake, whoſe trunk was large, was ſingle and detached from the reſt; and beſides, as the branches of it were ſtrong and many in number, two or three ſoldiers could eaſily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the ſtakes near it muſt neceſſarily have been looſened, becauſe their branches were too ſhort to interweave one with the other. But it was not ſo with the ſtakes cut by the Romans; their branches being ſo cloſely interwoven, that it was ſcarce poſſible to diſcover the ſtake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up thoſe ſtakes by thruſting his hand into the branches, which were ſo cloſely entwined, that no vacant place was left; beſides which, all the ends of them were ſharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not eaſily be removed, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it was driven ſo deep into the ground, that there was no moving it; and ſecondly, becauſe

the branches were ſo cloſely interwoven, that it was impoſſible to pull up one, without forcing away ſeveral others at the ſame time. Though two or three men put their whole ſtrength to them, yet it was impoſſible for them to force the ſtakes away. And yet, whenever by ſhaking and moving them about, they at laſt were forced out of their places, ſtill the opening made in that manner was almoſt inperceptible. Thus theſe kind of ſtakes were preferable, on three accounts, to thoſe of the Greeks: They were to be had every where, could be carried with eaſe, and were a very ſtrong paliſade to a camp.

Theſe ſort of digreſſions made by ſo great a maſter as Polybius, which turn on the uſages and practice of war, commonly pleaſe perſons of the military profeſſion, to whom they may furniſh uſeful hints: and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few ſkirmiſhes, in which the Ætolian cavalry ſignalized themſelves and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotuſſa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was ſo cloudy and dark, that a man could ſcarce ſee two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanded them to ſeize upon the ſummit of the hills called Cynoſcephale, which ſeparated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius alſo detached ten ſquadrons of horſe, and about a thouſand light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the ſame time directed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to beware of ambuſcades, as the weather was ſo very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had ſeiſed the eminences. At firſt, both parties were a little ſurpriſed at meeting, and afterwards began to ſkirmiſh. Each party ſent advice

advice to the general of what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppoſe the enemy, diſpatched a courier to deſire a re-inforcement, Quintius immediately ſent Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thouſand men, with five hundred horſe, which joining the former, ſoon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppreſſed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence ſent to the king for ſuccour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his ſoldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his firſt troops were in, and the ſky beginning to clear up, diſpatched Heraclides, who commanded the Theſſalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired ſoldiers, thoſe of Thrace excepted. When this re-inforcement joined the firſt detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the reſiſtance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with aſtoniſhing courage and intrepidity. Theſe were the beſt ſoldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for ſkirmiſhes and ſingle combats. Theſe ſo well ſuſtained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulſed into the valley. At ſome diſtance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleaſed either with the place or the weather, but could not refuſe himſelf either to the repeated ſhouts or intreaties of his ſoldiers, who beſought him to lead them

them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconſul did the ſame, and drew up his ſoldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each ſide, in this inſtant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the moſt affecting motives. Philip repreſented to his ſoldiers, the Perſians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Aſia and the whole Eaſt, ſubdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for ſovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant minds is more dear and valuable than the empire of the univerſe. As to the proconſul, he put his ſoldiers in mind of the victories they had ſo lately gained: On one ſide, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, ſubdued by the Romans; and to ſay all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not ſuperior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms: and which ought to rouze their courage the more, Philip whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired * by theſe ſpeeches, the ſoldiers, who, on one ſide, called themſelves victors of the Eaſt; and on the other conquerors of the Weſt; the former, fired with the glorious achievements of their anceſtors; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had ſo lately gained; prepared on each ſide for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its poſt, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing againſt the enemy in perſon. And now the ſkirmiſhers ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip,

* *His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferenteſque in bellum, alii majorum ſuorum antiquam & obſoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem.* JUSTIN.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, haſtens towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the reſt of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleaſed at the ſight. However, not long after ſeeing them give way, and in exceeding want of ſupport, he was obliged to ſuſtain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greateſt part of his phalanx was ſtill upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives ſuch of his troops as had been repulſed; poſts them, whether horſe or foot, on his right wing; and commands the light-armed ſoldiers and the phalanx to double their files and to keep their ranks cloſe on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march toward them with their pikes preſented and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had alſo, at the ſame time, received into his intervals thoſe who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedonians. The onſet being begun, each ſide ſent up the moſt dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had viſibly all the advantage; for charging impetuouſly from thoſe hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not ſuſtain the ſhock of troops ſo well cloſed and covered with their ſhields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but juſt arrived. As its ranks were broke and ſeparated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorouſly the left wing of the Macedonians; perſuaded that if he could but break it, and put it in diſorder, it would draw after it the other wing although victorious. The event anſwered his expectation. As this

wing, on account of the unnevenneſs and ruggedneſs of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle in which its whole ſtrength conſiſts, it was entirely defeated.

On this occaſion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Obſerving that Philip, who was at a great diſtance from the reſt of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was (it not being in want of ſupport) and conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the armies, conſulting only his own reaſon, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the cloſeneſs of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themſelves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increaſed the ſlaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the ſame time.

Philip, judging at firſt of the reſt of the battle, from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, aſſured himſelf of a complete victory. But when he ſaw his ſoldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind, he drew off with a body of troops to ſome diſtance from the field of battle, and from thence took a ſurvey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans, who purſued his left wing, extended almoſt to the ſummit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could aſſemble, and endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe,

where he halted to wait for thoſe who had eſcaped the defeat. He had been ſo prudent as to ſend orders to Lariſſa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of diſtreſſing any of his friends. The Romans purſued for ſome time thoſe who fled. The Ætolians were accuſed of having occaſioned Philip's eſcape. For they amuſed themſelves in plundering his camp, whilſt the Romans were employed in purſuing the enemy; ſo that when they returned they found almoſt nothing in it. They reproached them at firſt on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each ſide loading the other with the groſſeſt inſults. On the morrow, after having got together the priſoners and the reſt of the ſpoils, they marched towards Lariſſa. The Romans loſt about ſeven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thouſand, whereof eight thouſand died in the field, and five thouſand were taken priſoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoſcephale.

The Ætolians had certainly ſignalized themſelves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory: But then they were ſo vain, or rather inſolent, as to aſcribe the ſucceſs of it entirely to themſelves; declaring, without reſerve or modeſty, that they were far better ſoldiers than the Romans; and ſpread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them, for their greedy impatience in ſeizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was ſtill more enraged at them for their inſolent reports in regard to their ſuperior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldneſs towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to publick affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occaſions.

Theſe reports ſeem to have made too ſtrong an impreſſion on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderneſs and caution in regard

to allies ſo uſeful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a diſtance, for that open defection, to which the reſentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he diſſembled wiſely; had he ſhut his eyes and ears to many things; and appeared ſometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might ſay or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip ſent ambaſſadors to Flamininus who was at Laryſſa, upon pretence of deſiring a truce for burying the dead; but in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconſul agreed to both requeſts, and was ſo polite as to bid the meſſenger tell the king, "That he deſired him not "to deſpond." The Ætolians were highly offended at this meſſage. As theſe people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes; and they were not aſhamed to ſpread ſuch reports among the allies.

The Roman general ſet out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He aſſembled them before the king arrived, to inquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amynandrus, king of Athamania, who ſpoke in the name of the reſt, ſaid, that ſuch a treaty ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preſerve peace and liberty even in the abſence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian ſpoke next, and ſaid, That if the proconſul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he ſhould procure a ſolid peace for the Romans, or laſting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly miſtaken: That the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very eaſily effected,

effected, provided he would take the advantage of the preſent occaſion. After corroborating what he had advanced with ſeveral reaſons, he ſat down.

Quintius, addreſſing himſelf to Alexander; "You "do not know," ſays he, "either the character of "the Romans, my views, or the intereſt of Greece. "It is not uſual with the Romans, after they have "engaged in war with a king, or other power, to "ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the "Carthaginians are a manifeſt proof. As to myſelf, "I never intended to make an irreconcileable war "againſt Philip; but was inclined to grant him a "peace, whenever he ſhould yield to the conditions "that ſhould be preſcribed him. You yourſelves, "Ætolians, in the aſſemblies which were held for "that purpoſe, never once mentioned depriving Phi-"lip of his kingdom. Should victory inſpire us with "ſuch a deſign? How ſhameful were ſuch ſenti-"ments? When an enemy attacks us in the field, "it is our buſineſs to repel him with bravery and "haughtineſs: But when he is fallen, it is the duty "of the victor to ſhow moderation, gentleneſs, and "humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their "intereſt, I confeſs, that the Kingdom of Macedo-"nia ſhould be leſs powerful than formerly; but it "no leſs concerns their welfare, that it ſhould not "be entirely deſtroyed. That kingdom ſerves them "as a barrier againſt the Thracians and Gauls,* "who, were they not checked by it, would certainly "fall heavy upon Greece, as they have frequently done "before."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion, and that of the council, were, that if Philip would promiſe to obſerve faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly preſcribed, that then a peace ſhould be granted him, after having conſulted the ſenate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever

* A great number of Gauls had ſettled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

whatever reſolutions they pleaſed on this occaſion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having repreſented, in very ſtrong terms, that Philip, if he ſhould eſcape the preſent danger, would ſoon form new projects, and light up a freſh war: "I ſhall take care of that," replied the proconſul; "and ſhall take effectual methods "to put it out of his power to undertake any thing "againſt us."

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after the council being met again, he came into it, and ſpoke with ſo much prudence and wiſdom, as ſoftened the whole aſſembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute whatever conditions the Romans and the allies ſhould preſcribe; and that with regard to every thing elſe, he would rely entirely on the diſcretion of the ſenate. Upon theſe words the whole council were ſilent. Only Phineas the Ætolian ſtarted ſome difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reaſon entirely diſregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the concluſion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defenſe, and thereby might gain time. Beſides he was ſenſible, that ſhould another conſul come in his ſtead, all the honour of that war would be aſcribed to him. Theſe reaſons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months' truce; whereupon he received four * hundred talents from him, took Demetrius his ſon, and ſome of his friends as hoſtages: and gave him permiſſion to ſend to Rome, to receive ſuch further conditions from the ſenate, as they ſhould preſcribe. Matters being thus adjuſted, the parties ſeparated, after having mutually promiſed, that in caſe a peace ſhould not be concluded,

* Four hundred thouſand French crowns.

cluded, Flamininus ſhould return Philip the talents and the hoſtages. This being done, the ſeveral parties concerned ſent deputations to Rome; ſome to ſolicit peace, and others to throw obſtacles in its way.

[f] Whilſt theſe meaſures were concerting, to bring about a general peace, ſome expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in ſeveral places. Androſthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a conſiderable body of troops, conſiſting of above ſix thouſand men: he was defeated in a battle by Nicoſtratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were diſperſed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their ſentiments; ſome being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid ſiege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoſcephalæ, the whole country ſubmitted to the conquerors. At the ſame time the Rhodians took Perea, a ſmall country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjuſtly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other ſide, repulſed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill ſtate of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Theſſalonica.

[g] At Rome, the time for the election of conſuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were choſen. At the ſame time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were firſt read before the ſenate, and afterwards to the People; and public prayers, during five days, were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war againſt Philip.

Some

[f] Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14—19.

[g] A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24. & 27—29.

Some days after, ambaſſadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia; the affair was debated in the ſenate. Each of the Ambaſſadors made long ſpeeches, according to his reſpective views and intereſts; but, at laſt, the majority were for peace. The ſame affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who paſſionately deſired to command the armies in Greece, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpoſe; for the people approved of Flamininus's propoſal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the ſenate appointed ten of the moſt illuſtrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to ſettle, in conjunction with Flamininus, the affairs of that country, and ſecure its liberties. In the ſame aſſembly, the Achæans deſired to be received as allies of the people of Rome: but that affair meeting with ſome difficulties, it was referred to the ten commiſſioners.

A ſedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and thoſe of the Romans, which roſe to a great height. Nevertheleſs, it was not attended with any ill conſequences, the proconſul having ſoon appeaſed it.

[h] The ten commiſſioners, who had ſet out from Rome to ſettle the affairs of Greece, arrived ſoon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace which they ſettled in concert with Flamininus, were as follow: That all the other * cities of Greece, both in Aſia and Europe, ſhould be free, and be governed by their own Laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Iſthmian games, ſhould evacuate thoſe in which he then had garriſons: That he ſhould reſtore to the Romans all the priſoners and deſerters, and

[h] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

* This word *other*, is put here in oppoſition to ſuch of the Grecian cities as were ſubject to Philip, part of which only were reſtored to their liberties, becauſe the Romans thought it neceſſary to garriſon Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

and deliver up to them all the ſhips that had decks, (five feluccas excepted) and the galley having ſixteen benches of rowers. That he ſhould pay * a thouſand talents; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hoſtages required of him, was Demetrius his ſon, who accordingly was ſent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great ſatiſfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquiſhed, might ſtill have an opportunity of finding the Romans conſiderable employment, Antiochus, ſeeing his power conſiderably increaſed by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the ſurname of Great, had actually reſolved to carry his arms into Europe. If, therefore, Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreſeen what would come to paſs, and had not ſpeedily concluded this peace; had the war againſt Antiochus been joined, in the midſt of Greece, with the war carrying on againſt Philip; and had the two greateſt and moſt powerful kings then in the world (uniting their views and intereſts) invaded Rome at the ſame time; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as thoſe they had been obliged to ſuſtain in the war againſt Hannibal.

As ſoon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with univerſal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country ſeemed diſſatisfied, and inveighed privately againſt it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words; that the Greeks were amuſed with the name of liberty; with which ſpecious term the Romans covered their intereſted views. That they indeed ſuffered the cities in Aſia to enjoy their freedom; but that they ſeemed to reſerve to themſelves thoſe of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was not freed from its chains;

* About 190,000l.

chains; and, at moſt, had only changed its ſovereign.

Theſe complaints made the proconſul ſo much the more uneaſy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commiſſioners, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received from Rome, adviſed Flamininus to reſtore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece; and to put ſtrong garriſons into them, to prevent their being ſeiſed by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth ſet at liberty; but it was reſolved there, that a ſtrong garriſon ſhould be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they ſhould be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Iſthmian games were to be ſolemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be tranſacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and perſons of the higheſt rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, was the topic of all converſations, and various conſtructions were put on them; but very few could be perſuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being aſſembled in the ſtadium to ſee the games, a herald comes forward, and publiſhes with a loud voice; THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING OVERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, EASE AND DELIVER FROM ALL GARRISONS, AND TAXES, AND IMPOSTS, THE CORINTHIANS, THE LOCRIANS, THE PHOCIANS, THE EUBŒANS, THE PITHIOT ACHÆANS, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, AND ORDAIN THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE LAWS AND USAGES.

At

At theſe * words, which many heard but imperfectly, becauſe of the noiſe that interrupted them, all the ſpectators were filled with exceſs of joy. They gazed upon, and queſtioned one another with aſtoniſhment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; ſo like a dream was what they then ſaw and heard. It was thought neceſſary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now liſtened to with the moſt profound ſilence, ſo that not a ſingle word of the decree was loſt. But now fully aſſured of their happineſs, they abandoned themſelves again to the higheſt tranſports of joy, and broke into ſuch loud and repeated acclamations, that the ſea reſounded them to a great diſtance; and ſome ravens, which happened to fly that inſtant over the aſſembly, fell down in the ſtadium: So true it is, that of all the bleſſings of this life, none are ſo dear to mankind as liberty! The games and ſports were hurried over with neglect and diſregard; for ſo great was the general joy upon this occaſion, that it extinguiſhed all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to ſee his deliverer, to ſalute him, to kiſs his hand, and to throw crowns and feſtoons of flowers over him; he would have run the hazard of being preſſed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years (for he was not above thirty-three years old) and the joy which ſo glorious a day gave him, ſuſtained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And

* *Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod univerſum homines caperent. Vix ſatis credere ſe quiſque audiſſe: alii alios intueri mirabundi velut ſomnii vanam ſpeciem quod ad quemque pertineret, ſuarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco—iterum pronunciare eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plauſus eſt ortus, totieſque repetitus, ut facilè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, eſſe. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum eſt, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi ſpectaculo intenti eſſent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum ſenſum voluptatum.* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 32.

And indeed I would aſk, whether any mortal ever ſaw a more happy or more glorious day than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in compariſon with what we have ſeen on this occaſion? Should we eſtimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conqueſts of Alexander and the greateſt captains, how little would they appear, when oppoſed to this ſingle action of goodneſs, humanity, and juſtice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not ſo ſenſible as they ought to be, to ſo refined a joy, to ſo affecting and exquiſite a glory, as that which ariſes from doing good to many.

The remembrance * of ſo delightful a day, and of the invaluable bleſſing then beſtowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only ſubject of converſation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the higheſt tranſports of admiration, and a kind of enthuſiaſm, "That there was a people in "the world, who at their own expence and the "hazard of their lives, engage in a war for the li- "berty of other nations; and that not for their "neighbours or people ſituated on the ſame conti- "nent, but who croſſed ſeas, and ſailed to diſtant "climes, to deſtroy and extirpate unjuſt power from "the earth, and to eſtabliſh, univerſally, law, equity, "and juſtice. That by a ſingle word, and the voice "of a herald, liberty had been reſtored to all the cities "of Greece and Aſia. That a great ſoul only could "have formed ſuch a deſign; but that to execute it "was the effect at once of the higheſt good fortune, "and the moſt conſummate virtue."

They

* *Nec præſens omnium modò effuſa lætitia eſt; ſed per multos dies gratis & cogitationibus & ſermonibus revocata. Eſſe aliquam in terris gentem, quæ ſuæ impenſa, ſuo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præſtet: maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injuſtum imperium ſit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentiſſima ſint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Aſiæ urbes. Hoc ſpe concipere, audacis animi fuiſſe: ad effectum adducere, virtutis & fortunæ ingentis.* Liv. n. 33.

[k] They call to mind all the great battles, which Greece had fought for the ſake of liberty. "After "ſuſtaining ſo many wars," ſaid they, "never was "its valour crowned with ſo bleſſed a reward, as "when ſtrangers came and took up arms in its defence. "It was then, that almoſt without ſhedding a drop of "blood, or loſing ſcarce one man, it acquired the "greateſt and nobleſt of all prizes for which mankind "can contend. Valour and prudence are rare at all "times; but of all virtues, juſtice is moſt rare. "Ageſilaus, Lyſander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had "great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining "battles both by ſea and land; but then it was for "themſelves and their country, not for ſtrangers and "foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was "reſerved for the Romans."

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the preſent ſtate of affairs; and the effects ſoon anſwered the glorious proclamation made at the Iſthmian games; for the commiſſioners ſeparated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus, being returned from Argos, was appointed preſident of the Nemean games. He diſcharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the feſtival; and he alſo publiſhed by a herald at theſe games, as he had done at all the reſt, the liberty of Greece.

As he viſited the ſeveral cities, he eſtabliſhed good ordinances in them, reformed laws, reſtored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeaſing quarrels and ſeditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleaſed with being able by the means of perſuaſion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-eſtabliſh unity amongſt them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; ſo that liberty ſeemed the leaſt of the bleſſings they had received from him. And, indeed, of what ſervice would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not

[k] Plut. in Flamin.

not juſtice and concord been reſtored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces? How happy are the people under magiſtrates of this character!

It is related that Zenocrates the philoſopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to priſon, in order to make him pay a ſum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treaſury, and meeting ſoon after the ſons of his deliverer, he ſaid to them, "I repay with uſury the "kindneſs your father did me; for I am the cauſe "that all mankind praiſe him." But the gratitude which the Greeks ſhowed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in praiſing, but was alſo of infinite ſervice to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only freely received ſuch generals as the Romans ſent them, but requeſted earneſtly that they might be ſent, they called them in, and put themſelves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer againſt the injuſtice of neighbouring powers, had recourſe to them, and put themſelves in a manner under their ſafeguard; ſo that, in a ſhort time, from an effect of the divine protection, (to uſe * Plutarch's expreſſion) the whole earth ſubmitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commiſſioners who had diſperſed themſelves up and down, came to the aſſembly of the Greeks which was held at † Thermæ, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long ſpeech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared; and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the

* Θεω συνεφαπλομενε.

† According to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has tranſlated juſtly Polybius in this place: επι την των Θερμικων συνοδον. This is ſaid of an aſſembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.

the principal Ætolians complained, but with modeſty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not ſhow ſo much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harſh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been able to ſet foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all diſputes and conteſts, which are always of pernicious conſequence, was ſo prudent as only to refer them to the ſenate, aſſuring them, that all poſſible juſtice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that reſolution; and thus ended the war againſt Philip.

SECT. IV. *Complaints being made, and ſuſpicions ariſing concerning Antiochus, the Romans ſend an embaſſy to him, which has no other effect, but to diſpoſe both parties for an open rupture. A conſpiracy is formed by Scopas the Ætolian againſt Ptolemy. He and his accomplices are put to death. Hannibal retires to Antiochus. War of Flamininus againſt Nabis, whom he beſieges in Sparta; he obliges him to ſue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph.*

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwiſe would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the ſame time, Philip and Antiochus: For it is evident that the Romans would ſoon be obliged to proclaim war againſt the king of Syria, who enlarged his conqueſts daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to croſs over into Europe.

[1] After having eſtabliſhed good order in Cœlo-ſyria and Paleſtine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral cities

[1] A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

cities of Aſia Minor, and among thoſe of Epheſus, he took the moſt proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of his deſigns; and to give him the poſſeſſion of all thoſe kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his anceſtors.

Smyrna, Lampſacus, and the other Grecian cities of Aſia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, ſeeing plainly that he intended to bring them under ſubjection, reſolved to defend themſelves. But being unable to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was ſoon granted. The Romans ſaw plainly, that it was their intereſt to check the progreſs of Antiochus towards the Weſt; and how fatal the conſequence would be, ſhould they ſuffer him to extend his power by ſettling on the coaſt of Aſia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity thoſe free cities gave them, of oppoſing it; and immediately ſent an embaſſy to him.

Before the ambaſſadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already ſent off detachments from his army, which had formed the ſieges of Smyrna and Lampſacus. That prince had paſſed the Helleſpont in perſon with the reſt of it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Thracian Cherſoneſus. Finding the city of * Lyſimachia all in ruins (the Thracians having demoliſhed it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with the deſign of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his ſecond ſon; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all theſe new projects, the Roman ambaſſadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended with deputies from the Grecian cities in Aſia. In the firſt conferences, the whole paſſed in civilities, which appeared ſincere:

* This city ſtood on the iſthmus or neck of the peninſula.

ſincere; but when they proceeded to buſineſs, the face of affairs was ſoon changed. L. Cornelius, who ſpoke on this occaſion, required Antiochus to reſtore to Ptolemy the ſeveral cities in Aſia, which he had taken from him; that he ſhould evacuate all thoſe which had been poſſeſſed by Philip; it not being juſt that he ſhould reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on againſt that prince; and that he ſhould not moleſt ſuch of the Grecian cities of Aſia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly ſurpriſed at Antiochus, for croſſing into Europe with two ſuch numerous armies, and ſo powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lyſimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus anſwered, that Ptolemy ſhould have full ſatisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, ſhould be ſolemnized. That with regard to ſuch Grecian cities as deſired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans they were to receive it. With reſpect to Lyſimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the deſign of making it the reſidence of Seleucus his ſon; that Thrace, and the Cherſoneſus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lyſimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his anceſtors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Aſia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he deſired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Aſia than he did with thoſe of Italy.

The Romans deſiring that the Ambaſſadors of Smyrna and Lampſacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. Theſe ſpoke with ſo much freedom, as incenſed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a paſſion, that the Romans had no buſineſs to judge of thoſe affairs. Upon this the aſſembly

aſſembly broke up in great diſorder; none of the parties received ſatisfaction, and the whole ſeemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During theſe negociations, a report was ſpread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himſelf maſter of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take poſſeſſion of it. He left his Son Seleucus at Lyſimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to thoſe parts. He firſt went to Epheſus, where he cauſed all his ſhips in that port to join his fleet, in order to ſail as ſoon as poſſible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was ſpread concerning Ptolemy's death was falſe. For this reaſon he changed his courſe, and made for the iſland of Cyprus, in order to ſeiſe it; but a ſtorm that aroſe ſunk many of his ſhips, deſtroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his meaſures. He thought himſelf very happy in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

[m] The foundation of the rumour which was ſpread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conſpiracy having been really formed againſt his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general ſeeing himſelf at the head of all the foreign troops, the greateſt part of which were Ætolians (his countrymen) imagined that with ſo formidable a body of well-diſciplined veteran forces, it would be eaſy for him to uſurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let ſlip the opportunity, by conſulting and debating with his friends, inſtead of acting, he would certainly have ſucceeded. Ariſtomenes, the prime miniſter, being appriſed of the conſpiracy, laid Scopas under an arreſt; after which

[m] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771—773.

which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who till then, had been in great eſteem for their fidelity; moſt of them were removed from their employments, and ſent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immenſe treaſures were found in his coffers, which he had amaſſed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the courſe of his victories in Paleſtine, had ſubjected Judæa and Jeruſalem to the Egyptian empire, the greateſt part of his treaſures aroſe, no doubt, from thence. The tranſition from avarice to perfidy and treaſon is often very ſhort; and the fidelity of that general, who diſcovers a paſſion for riches, cannot be ſafely relied on.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very ſtrange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the Iſlands called Cyclades, in open violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he ſet up two altars, one to Injuſtice, and the other to Impiety; and offered ſacrifices on both, to inſult, as one would imagine, at the ſame time both gods and men. As this wretch had ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his crimes, Ariſtomenes diſtinguiſhed him alſo from the reſt of the conſpirators in his execution. He diſpatched all the others by poiſon, but as for Dicæarchus, he cauſed him to die in exquiſite torments.

The contrivers of the conſpiracy being put to death, and all their meaſures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was ſet upon the throne with great pomp and ſolemnity. He thereby took the government upon himſelf, and accordingly began to tranſact buſineſs. As long as Ariſtomenes adminiſtered under him, all things went

well: But when he conceived diſguſt for that faithful and able miniſter, and not long after put him to death, (to rid himſelf of a man whoſe virtue was offenſive to him) the remainder of his reign was one continued ſeries of diſorder and confuſion. His ſubjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was moſt triumphant.

[n] When the ten commiſſioners, who were ſent to ſettle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the ſenate, that they muſt expect and prepare for a new war, which would be ſtill more dangerous than that they had juſt before terminated: That Antiochus had croſſed into Europe with a ſtrong army, and a conſiderable fleet; that upon a falſe report which had been ſpread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had ſet out, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt, and that otherwiſe he would have made Greece the ſeat of the war: That the Ætolians, a people naturally reſtleſs and turbulent, and diſguſted with Rome, would certainly riſe on that occaſion: That Greece foſtered in its own boſom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predeceſſors, who was meditating how to enſlave it; and therefore, having been reſtored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its ſovereign, and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, eſpecially if Nabis ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's ſteps. He had juſt before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the ſpring, in order to go to Epheſus; and had ſcarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmoleſted in Carthage, during ſix years, from the concluſion of the peace with the Romans:

[n] A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

Romans: but he was now ſuſpected of holding a ſecret correſpondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the deſign of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies ſent advice of this ſecretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embaſſy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact; with orders, in caſe the proofs ſhould be manifeſt, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foreſight, and had been too long accuſtomed to prepare for ſtorms, even in the greateſt calms, not to ſuſpect their deſign; ſo that before they had an opportunity to execute their commiſſion, he withdrew privately, got to the coaſt, and went on board a ſhip which always lay ready by his order againſt ſuch an occaſion. He eſcaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Epheſus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great ſatisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counſel and aſſiſtance of a man who had ſo often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby juſtly acquired the reputation of being the greateſt general of the age, he ſhould be able to complete all his deſigns. He now thought of nothing but victories and conqueſts: Accordingly, war was reſolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the neceſſary preparations. Nevertheleſs, during that time, embaſſies were ſent on both ſides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but, in reality, to gain time, and ſee what the enemy were doing.

° With regard to Greece, all the ſtates, except the Ætolians, whoſe ſecret diſcontent I obſerved

* Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—43.

° *Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad proſpicienda cavendaque pericula peritum: nec minùs in ſecundis adverſa, quàm in adverſis, ſecunda cogitantem.* JUSTIN.

before, enjoyed the ſweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no leſs the temperance, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the ſtate of things, when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war againſt Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cauſe of their meeting. "You perceive," ſays he, "that the ſubject of the "preſent deliberation ſolely regards you. Our buſi- "neſs is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and "moſt illuſtrious city, ſituated in the midſt of Greece, "ſhall enjoy its liberty in common with the reſt of the "cities; or, whether it ſhall continue ſubject to the "tyrant of Sparta, who has ſeiſed it. This affair "concerns the Romans only, as the ſlavery of a ſingle "city would bereave them of the glory of having "entirely delivered Greece. Conſider therefore what "is to be done, and your reſolutions ſhall determine "my conduct."

The aſſembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear ſhowing their reſentment againſt the Romans, which they carried ſo high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping poſſeſſion of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boaſted their having entirely reſtored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no leſs againſt the reſt of their allies, who deſired to be ſecured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who (according to them) were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The diſpute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the ſubject before them; upon which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that war ſhould be declared againſt Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to reſtore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promiſed to ſend a ſpeedy ſuccour; which was faithfully performed.

formed. Ariſthenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe.

Philip ſent fifteen hundred men, as his quota, and the Theſſalians four hundred horſe. Quintius's brother arrived alſo with a fleet of forty gallies, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta juſtly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus, the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies deſigned at firſt to beſiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviſeable to march directly againſt the tyrant. He had greatly ſtrengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had ſent for a thouſand choſen ſoldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thouſand he had already among his forces. He had three thouſand other foreign troops in his ſervice; and, beſides theſe, ten thouſand natives of the country, excluſively of the Helots.

At the ſame time he alſo concerted meaſures to ſecure himſelf from domeſtic troubles. Having cauſed the people to come unarmed to the aſſembly, and poſting armed ſoldiers round them; after ſome little preamble, he declared, that as the preſent juncture of affairs obliged him to take ſome precautions for his own ſafety, he therefore was determined to impriſon a certain number of citizens, whom he had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect; and that the inſtant the enemy ſhould be repulſed (whom, he ſaid, he had no reaſon to fear, provided things were quiet at home) he would releaſe thoſe priſoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a ſtrong priſon, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He alſo put

to

to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were ſuſpected of a deſign to deſert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity ſpread univerſal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly reſolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle againſt troops much ſuperior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almoſt under the walls of the city, whilſt he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops againſt him. As the Romans did not expect ſuch a ſally, becauſe they had not been oppoſed at all upon their march, they were at firſt put into ſome diſorder, but ſoon recovering themſelves, they repulſed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other ſide of the city; when the rear-guard had paſſed, Nabis cauſed his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans inſtantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both ſides; but at laſt, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, purſued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence ruined vallies, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the ſea.

At the ſame time, the proconſul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid ſiege to Gythium, at that time a ſtrong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very ſeaſonably; for the beſieged defended themſelves with great courage: However, after making a long and vigorous reſiſtance, they ſurrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore ſent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview,

interview, which was granted. Beſides ſeveral other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great ſtreſs, he inſiſted ſtrongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himſelf had concluded with him in the war againſt Philip: an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans profeſſed themſelves faithful and religious obſervers of treaties, which they boaſted their having never violated. That nothing had been changed on his part, ſince the treaty: That he was then what he had always been; and had never given the Romans any new occaſion for complaints or reproaches. Theſe arguments were very juſt; and, to ſay the truth, Quintius had no ſolid reaſons to oppoſe to them. Accordingly, in his anſwer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny: but, was he leſs covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this firſt interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, ſince the Romans required it; as alſo, to give them up their priſoners and deſerters. He deſired Quintius, in caſe he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends; to which Quintius conſented. The Roman general alſo held a council with his allies. Moſt of them were of opinion, that they ſhould continue the war againſt Nabis, which could only terminate glorioufly, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at leaſt his tyranny; for that otherwiſe, nobody could be aſſured that the liberty of Greece was reſtored. That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a ſolemn manner, and giving a ſanction to his uſurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, becauſe he was afraid that the Spartans would ſuſtain a long ſiege, during which the war with Antiochus might

might break out on a ſudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces againſt him. Theſe were his pretended motives for deſiring an accommodation; but the true reaſon was, his being apprehenſive that a new conſul would be appointed to ſucceed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war; a motive which commonly influenced the reſolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reaſons could make the leaſt impreſſion on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us beſiege "Sparta," ſays he, "ſince you think it proper, and "exert ourſelves to the utmoſt for the ſucceſs of our "enterpriſe. As you are ſenſible that ſieges often "ſpin out to a greater length than is generally de-"ſired, let us reſolve to take up our winter quarters "here, ſince it muſt be ſo: This is a reſolution "worthy of your courage. I have a ſufficient num-"ber of troops for carrying on this ſiege; but the "more numerous they are, the greater ſupply of "proviſions and convoys will be neceſſary. The "winter that is coming on, exhibits nothing to us "but a naked, ruined country, from which we can "have no forage. You ſee the great extent of this "city, and conſequently the great number of cata-"pultæ, battering-rams, and other machines of all "kinds that will be wanting. Write each of you "to your cities, in order that they may furniſh you "ſpeedily, in an abundant manner, with all things "neceſſary for us. We are obliged in honour to "carry on this ſiege vigorouſly: and it would be "ſhameful for us, after having begun it, to be re-"duced to abandon our enterpriſe." Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreſeen; and was fully ſenſible that the propoſal they were to make to their cities

would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in conſequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purſes, to the expenſe of the war. Changing therefore immediately their reſolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he ſhould think proper, for the good of his republic, and the intereſts of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: That, within ten days, Nabis ſhould evacuate Argos, and all the reſt of the cities of Argolis, garriſoned by his troops: That he ſhould reſtore to the maritime cities all the gallies he had taken from them; and that he himſelf ſhould keep only two feluccas, with ſixteen oars each: That he ſhould ſurrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their priſoners, deſerters, and ſlaves: That he ſhould alſo reſtore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, ſuch of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do ſo: That he ſhould give five hoſtages, to be choſen by the Roman general, of which his ſon ſhould be one: That he ſhould pay down an hundred talents of ſilver,* and afterwards fifty talents, annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for ſix months, that all parties might have time to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not ſatisfied with any of theſe articles; but he was ſurpriſed, and thought himſelf happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raiſed a general ſedition, from the neceſſity to which he reduced private perſons, of reſtoring many things they were not willing to be

* An hundred thouſand crowns.

deprived of. Thus, no further mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now reſolved to carry on the ſiege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the ſituation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; diſdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only ſince the tyrants governed it; and that but in places which lay open, and were eaſy of acceſs: All the other parts were defended only by their natural ſituation, and by bodies of troops poſted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous (conſiſting of about fifty thouſand men, becauſe he had ſent for all the land, as well as naval forces) he reſolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all ſides, in order to ſtrike the inhabitants with terror and render them incapable of knowing on which ſide to turn themſelves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all ſides at the ſame inſtant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in ſending ſuccours, which quite diſtracted him.

The Lacedæmonians ſuſtained the attacks of the beſiegers, as long as they fought in defiles, and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, becauſe, preſſing on one another, they could not ſtand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to diſcharge them with ſtrength. The Romans, drawing near the city, found themſelves on a ſudden overwhelmed with ſtones and tiles, thrown at them from the houſe-tops. However, laying their ſhields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the *teſtudo*, or tortoiſe, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: The Romans advanced into the broader ſtreets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to ſuſtain their efforts, nor make head againſt them, fled to the moſt craggy and

and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames: the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be sounded; and after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times, by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many intreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother (who returned to their respective fleets) repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time, because of the war, had been put off till

till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and diſtributed the prizes in it, or rather, he himſelf was the ſhow. The Argives, eſpecially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defenſe, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious ſlavery, and reſtored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleaſed to ſee the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and reſtored to all their privileges: but Sparta being ſtill enſlaved, and a tyrant ſuffered in the midſt of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it leſs perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that ſhameful and inglorious treaty (for ſo they called it) they exclaimed in all places againſt the Romans. They obſerved, that in the war againſt Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece. That here, on the contrary, the uſurper was maintained in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Sparta; whilſt that the lawful king (meaning Ageſipolis) who had ſerved under the proconſul, and ſo many illuſtrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to paſs the remainder of their days in baniſhment. In a word, that the Romans had made themſelves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in theſe complaints, confined their views ſolely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men ſhould have an eye to all things, ſhould content themſelves with what they can execute with ſucceſs, and not attempt a thouſand ſchemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himſelf will ſhow hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had ſet out to carry on the war with Sparta. He ſpent the whole winter in adminiſtering juſtice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in

in regulating the government, and eſtabliſhing order in all places; things which, properly ſpeaking, are the real fruits of peace, the moſt glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on juſt and reaſonable motives. The ambaſſadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

[a] In the beginning of the ſpring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general aſſembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he repreſented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the intreaties of the Greeks when they implored their ſuccour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither ſide would have occaſion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterpriſes of the Roman generals his predeceſſors; and mentioned his own with a modeſty of expreſſion that heightened their merit. He was heard with univerſal applauſe, except when he began to ſpeak of Nabis; on which occaſion, the aſſembly, by a modeſt murmur, diſcovered their grief and ſurpriſe, that the deliverer of Greece ſhould have left, in ſo renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only inſupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the reſt of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the diſpoſition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in a few words. He confeſſed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire deſtruction of Sparta. But, as there was reaſon to fear, that this conſiderable city would be involved in the ſame ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, ſhould they employ too

[a] A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 194.

too violent remedies, of deſtroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had ſaid of paſt tranſactions, that he was preparing to ſet out for Italy, and to ſend the whole army thither. That before ten days ſhould be at an end, they ſhould hear that the garriſons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would ſurrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth. That this would ſhow, whether the Romans or Ætolians were moſt worthy of belief: whether the latter had the leaſt foundation for the report they ſpread univerſally, that nothing could be of more dangerous conſequence to a people, than to truſt the Romans with their liberties; and that they only ſhifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their maſter inſtead of the Macedonians. He concluded with ſaying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and diſcreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they truſted, and againſt whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to uſe their liberty with moderation; that with this wiſe precaution, it was of the higheſt advantage to particular perſons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burthen to others, and even pernicious to thoſe who abuſed it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compoſe them, and the citizens themſelves in general, ſhould endeavour to preſerve a perfect harmony: That ſo long as they ſhould be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to diſtreſs them; that diſcord and ſedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, becauſe the party which finds itſelf weakeſt within, ſeeks for ſupport without; and chooſes rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than ſubmit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded

his

his ſpeech with conjuring them, in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms, to preſerve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms: and to make the Romans ſenſible, that in reſtoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to perſons unworthy of it.

This counſel was received as from a father to his children. Whilſt he ſpoke in this manner, the whole aſſembly wept for joy, and Quintius himſelf could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expreſſed the ſentiments of all that were preſent. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and reſpect, the words of the Roman general, as ſo many oracles, and preſerve the rememberance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius cauſing ſilence to be made, deſired that they would inquire ſtrictly after ſuch Roman citizens as were in ſlavery in Greece, and ſend them to him in Theſſaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave thoſe in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the higheſt applauſes, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them ſo juſt and indiſpenſable a duty. The number of theſe ſlaves was very conſiderable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punick war; but the Romans refuſing to redeem them, they had been ſold. It coſt only the Achæans an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thouſand crowns, to reimburſe the maſters the price they had paid for the ſlaves, at the rate of about * twelve pounds ten ſhillings an head; conſequently the number here amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the reſt of Greece. Before the aſſembly broke up, the garriſon was ſeen marching

* Five hundred denarii.

marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it ſoon after, and withdrew in the midſt of the acclamations of the people, who called him their ſaviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to beſtow all poſſible bleſſings upon him.

He withdrew in the ſame manner the garriſons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in thoſe cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Theſſaly, where he found all things in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion.

At laſt he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony laſted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidſt the other pomp) the precious ſpoils he had taken in the wars againſt Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, ſon of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hoſtages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the nobleſt ornament of it was the Roman citizens, delivered from ſlavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads ſhaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been reſtored.

SECT. V. *Univerſal preparations for the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Mutual embaſſies and interviews on both ſides, which come to nothing. The Romans ſend troops againſt Nabis, who had infringed the treaty. Philopœmen gains another victory over him. The Ætolians implore the aſſiſtance of Antiochus. Nabis is killed. Antiochus goes at laſt to Greece.*

[a] ANTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war. Ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Aſia Minor, and from ſeveral kings. They were favourably received by the ſenate; but as the affair of

[a] A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 57—62.

of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commiſſioners who were returned from Aſia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both ſides. The ambaſſadors of the king were ſurpriſed, as their ſovereign had ſent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendſhip with the Romans, that the latter ſhould pretend to preſcribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate thoſe cities which he might keep, and ſuch as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many ſpeeches and replies, declared to the king's ambaſſadors, that the Romans perſiſted in the reſolution they had taken to deliver the Grecian cities of Aſia, as they had done thoſe of Europe; and ſhould ſee whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They anſwered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to leſſen the dominions of their ſovereign. On the morrow, all the reſt of the ambaſſadors were again introduced into the ſenate. Quintius reported what had been ſpoken and tranſacted in the conference; and entreated each of them in particular, to inform their reſpective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties againſt Antiochus, with the ſame ardour and courage as they had done againſt Philip. Antiochus's ambaſſadors conjured the ſenate, not to form any raſh reſolution in an affair of ſo much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and conſider things maturely on their ſide, before they paſſed a decree, in which the public tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a deciſion, but deputed to the king Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the ſame ambaſſadors who had already conferred with him at Lyſimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambaſſadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the ſenate, that Antiochus, at the inſtigation of Hannibal, was certainly

certainly preparing to carry on the war againſt the Romans. I have obſerved before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at the very inſtant the king was deliberating whether he ſhould embark in this war. The preſence and counſels of ſuch a general, contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time (and he always perſiſted in it) was that he ought to carry his arms into Italy. That by this means the enemy's country would furniſh them with troops and proviſions; that otherwiſe, no prince nor people could be ſuperior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but an hundred gallies, ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. He declared, that with this fleet he would firſt go into Africa, where he was perſuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, ſhould he not ſucceed in the latter, he would ſail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to diſtreſs the Romans; that it was neceſſary that the king ſhould go over into Europe with the reſt of his forces, and halt in ſome part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he ſhould always ſeem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at firſt, Hannibal ſent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to ſound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, leſt they ſhould be intercepted; not to mention that buſineſs is tranſacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was diſcovered, and eſcaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian ſenate ſent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the ſame time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

[b] No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for

[b] A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 192. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 12.

for ever incenſing them; repreſenting, in the moſt aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their laſt victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonſtrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was ſent ambaſſador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular inſtructions in regard to each of thoſe princes.

The firſt repreſented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by diſpoſſeſſing him of his maritime towns, as they furniſhed him with gallies, ſoldiers, and ſailors: That, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to ſee the Achæans reign over Peloponneſus: that he would never have ſo favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then preſented itſelf: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might eaſily ſeiſe upon Gythium, which was ſituated very commodiouſly for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to ſend their legions again into Greece, to take a city of ſo little conſequence.

Nicander employed ſtill ſtronger motives to rouſe Philip, who had been thrown down from a much ſuperior height of greatneſs, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Beſides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been ſubdued by their arms: that the propoſal he made him would not expoſe him to any danger: that he did not deſire him to declare war, till Antiochus ſhould have paſſed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip) unaſſiſted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, ſuſtained ſo long a war againſt the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be poſſible for the Romans to reſiſt him, when he ſhould have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the ſworn enemy to the Romans, of whoſe generals more

more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time.

Dieæarehus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He obſerved particularly, that in the war againſt Philip, the Romans had taken the ſpoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians; That they alone had opened them an entranee into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horſe and foot with which they would furniſh him; and the ſtrong towns and ſea-ports poſſeſſed by them. He did not ſcruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him againſt the Romans.

Theſe are the ſteps the Ætolians took, to raiſe up enemies againſt Rome on every ſide. However, the two kings did not eomply with them at that time; and did not take their reſolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he ſent immediately to all the maritime towns, to exeite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the prineipal citizens, and diſpatehed thoſe who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greeee, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately ſent deputies to the tyrant to put him in mind of the treaty he had eoncluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace he had ſolicited ſo mueh. At the ſame time they ſent troops to Gythium, whieh the tyrant had already beſieged; and ambaſſadors to Rome, to inform the ſenate and people of what was doing.

[c] Antiochus did not yet declare himſelf openly, but took ſeeret meaſures for promoting the great deſign he meditated. He thought it adviſeable to ſtrengthen

[c] Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian in Syriac. p. 88—92. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

ſtrengthen himſelf by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Paleſtine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and reſigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, but upon condition as had been before ſtipulated, that he ſhould retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have beſtowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refuſed her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with ſo great a monarch would be a great ſupport to their houſe. However, Eumenes ſoon convinced them, by the reaſons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He repreſented, that ſhould he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a neceſſity of eſpouſing his intereſt againſt the Romans, with whom he plainly ſaw this monarch would ſoon be at variance: that, ſhould the Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would) he ſhould be involved in the ſame ruin with the vanquiſhed king, which would infallibly prove his deſtruction: that, on the other ſide, ſhould Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his ſon in-law, he ſhould be one of the firſt to become his ſlave. For they might be aſſured, that ſhould Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would ſubject all Aſia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they ſhould have much better terms from the Romans; and therefore he was reſolved to continue attached to their intereſts. The event ſhowed that Eumenes was not miſtaken.

After

After theſe marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Aſia Minor, and arrived at Epheſus in the depth of winter. He ſet out from thence again in the beginning of the ſpring to puniſh the Piſidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having ſent his ſon into Syria, for the ſecurity of the provinces in the Eaſt.

I have ſaid above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embaſſy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go firſt to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he deſired nothing ſo much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having ſo powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very juſt alarm. In caſe of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the ſame fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, ſhould the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes aſſured himſelf that part of his ſpoils and fortreſſes would be given him, which would enable him to defend himſelf, without any foreign aid, againſt his attacks: that, after all, ſhould things take a different turn, he had rather run the worſt hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be expoſed, by breaking with them, to ſubmit either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left ſick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Piſidia, went to Epheſus, where he found Hannibal. He had ſeveral conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to perſuade him, that he had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Romans. He had better ſucceſs in the deſign he propoſed in that conduct, which was by treating Hannibal with great courteſy; and making him frequent viſits, to render him ſuſpected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Livy.

Livy, on the authority of ſome hiſtorians, relates that Scipio was on this embaſſy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated anſwer I have related * elſewhere, when ſpeaking of the moſt illuſtrious generals, he gave the firſt place to Alexander, the ſecond to Pyrrhus, and the third to himſelf. Some authors look upon this embaſſy of Scipio as improbable, and the anſwer of Hannibal to be more ſo.

Villius went from Epheſus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war againſt the Piſidians. In their interview, they ſpoke on much the ſame topics, as thoſe on which the king's ambaſſadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldeſt ſon. He returned to Epheſus to lament his loſs. But notwithſtanding theſe fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his ſhow of grief was merely political; and that he himſelf had ſacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greateſt hopes, and had already given ſuch ſhining proofs of wiſdom, goodneſs, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had ſent him from Epheſus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the ſecurity of the provinces of the Eaſt; and that he had cauſed ſome eunuchs to poiſon him there, to rid himſelf of his fears. A king and at the ſame time a father, ought not to be ſuſpected of ſo horrid a crime, without the ſtrongeſt and moſt evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and ſorrow was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king ſent for them ſoon after. They had a conference with his miniſter, which ended in complaints on both ſides; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing. The

* Vol. I. Hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

The inſtant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the preſent affairs; in which every one exclaimed againſt the Romans, knowing that to be the beſt method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtineſs of their demands, and ſaid it was ſtrange, that they ſhould attempt to preſcribe laws to the greateſt monarch of Aſia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great aſcendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they ſhould make war, but how, and in what manner they ſhould carry it on; aſſured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in caſe he ſhould croſs into Europe, and ſettle in ſome part of Greece: that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the firſt to declare againſt the Romans, that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one ſide, to recover what he had loſt, would raiſe all Peloponneſus againſt them; and that on the other Philip, who was ſtill more diſguſted, would not fail, at the firſt ſignal of war, to take up arms alſo: that they had no time to loſe; and that the deciſive point was, to ſeiſe upon the moſt advantageous poſts, and to make ſure of allies. He added that Hannibal ought to be ſent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered ſuſpected to the king, was not ſummoned to this council. He had perceived on ſeveral other occaſions, that the king's friendſhip for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer repoſed the ſame confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unboſomed himſelf without the leaſt diſguiſe. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had ſworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans. "It is this oath," ſays he, "it is this hatred, that prompted me to "keep the ſword drawn during thirty-ſix years; it

"was

"was the ſame animoſity that occaſioned my being "baniſhed from my country in a time of peace, and "forced me to ſeek an aſylum in your dominions. "If you defeat my hopes, guided by the ſame hatred, "which can never expire but with my life, I will "fly to every part of the world where there are ſol- "diers and arms, to raiſe up enemies againſt the "Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. "As long as you ſhall reſolve to make war againſt "them, you may conſider Hannibal as the firſt of "your friends: But if there are any motives which "incline you to peace, take counſel of others, not "of me." Antiochus, ſtruck with theſe words, ſeemed to reſtore him his confidence and friendſhip.

The Ambaſſadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it againſt him. They did not act ſo cautiouſly with regard to Nabis, who had been the firſt to violate the treaty, and was then actually beſieging Gythium, and laying waſte the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was ſent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

[d] Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with reſpect to land ſervice, but had no ſkill in naval affairs. Notwithſtanding this, he took upon himſelf the command of the Achæan fleet,* and imagined that he ſhould be as ſucceſsful by ſea as he had been by land:

[d] A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

* The great prince of Condé thought and ſpoke much more wiſely. In a converſation upon a ſea-fight, the prince ſaid, he ſhould be very glad to ſee one, purely for his own inſtruction. A ſea-officer, who was preſent, replied, "Sir, were your highneſs in a ſea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders." "My orders!" interrupted the prince, "I ſhould not preſume even to give my advice; but ſhould ſtand quietly on the deck, and obſerve all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own inſtruction."

but he learned, to his coſt, not to depend ſo much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly uſeful experience is on all occaſions; for Nabis, who had fitted out ſome veſſels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. This diſaſter however did not diſcourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumſpect for the future. Such is the uſe judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greateſt ſucceſſes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen reſolved, if poſſible, to make his joy of ſhort duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having ſurpriſed him when he leaſt expected him, he ſet fire to his camp, and made a great ſlaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium ſurrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtineſs of the tyrant.

Philopœmen ſaw plainly that it was neceſſary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of the poſts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occaſion, fired by jealouſy, and animated with revenge againſt Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the firſt attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greateſt ſtrength, broke the Achæans, threw them into diſorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuſcades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and whilſt they were ſhouting as victorious, thoſe who fled faced about; and the Achæans charged them on a ſudden from their ambuſcades, and made a great ſlaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and moraſſes with which it abounded, the general

general would not ſuffer his troops to abandon themſelves to their ardour, in purſuing the enemy; but cauſing a retreat to be ſounded, he encamped on that very ſpot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully perſuaded, that as ſoon as it ſhould be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in ſmall parties, he poſted ambuſcades on all the paſſes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; ſo that Nabis hardly ſaved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen, having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and after having conſiderably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with ſpoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, becauſe it was manifeſtly owing ſolely to his prudence and ability. A circumſtance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers ſhould propoſe to themſelves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult paſs, he halted, and aſked himſelf (in caſe he were alone) or elſe inquired of thoſe who were with him, in what manner it would be neceſſary to act, in caſe the enemy ſhould come ſuddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear: if he came on in order of battle; or in leſs order, as when an army is on its march: what poſt would it be proper for him to take? In what places to diſpoſe of his baggage, and how many troops would be neceſſary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could beſt ſecure his forage, and provide water? What rout he ſhould take the next day, after he ſhould decamp, and in what order it were beſt to march? He had accuſtomed himſelf ſo early, and exerciſed himſelf ſo much in all theſe

parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and never was diſconcerted by any unforeſeen accident, but reſolved and acted immediately as if he had foreſeen every thing that happened. Theſe things form the great captain: But the only method to be ſuch, is to love one's profeſſion, to think it an honour to improve it, to ſtudy it ſeriouſly, and to deſpiſe the common topics of diſcourſe of the indolent and inſignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

[e] During this expedition of the Achæans againſt Nabis, the Ætolians had ſent ambaſſadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to croſs into Greece. They not only promiſed to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but alſo aſſured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on ſeveral other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare againſt them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the firſt of the ambaſſadors, expatiated upon all theſe advantages in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pompous terms. He obſerved to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceleſs condition: that this would be the fineſt opportunity for him to poſſeſs himſelf of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the inſtant he came among them, he would be maſter of the country. This ſoothing deſcription of the ſtate of the Grecian affairs, made ſo deep an impreſſion on him, that he could ſcarce give himſelf time to deliberate in what manner it would be moſt proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other ſide, who were not ignorant of the meaſures taken by the Ætolians to diſengage their allies from their intereſt, and increaſe their enemies on all ſides, had ſent ambaſſadors into Greece,

[e] Liv. l. xxxv. n. 31—34.

Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival he found all the nations very well diſpoſed with regard to the Romans, except the Magneſians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was ſpread of their intending to reſtore to Philip his ſon, who had been given them as an hoſtage; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magneſians. It was neceſſary to undeceive them, but in ſo dexterous a manner as not to diſguſt Philip, whom it was much more their intereſt to oblige. This Quintius effected with great addreſs. The author of theſe falſe reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magiſtrate. As he let drop ſome harſh and injurious expreſſions againſt the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magneſians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldeſt among them, directing himſelf to Quintius and the reſt of the ambaſſadors, with tears conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who, he ſaid, ought only to be anſwerable for it. That the Magneſians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans; not only for their liberty, but for whatever elſe is moſt dear and valuable among men; that as for themſelves, they would ſooner part with their lives than renounce the friendſhip of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole aſſembly applauded this ſpeech, and Eurylochus, preceiving plainly that there was no longer any ſafety for him in the city, took refuge amongſt the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had ſent as his ambaſſador to the Ætolians. Before the general aſſembly was convened, theſe two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepoſſeſs the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by ſea and land: his numerous bodies of horſe and foot; the elephants he had cauſed to be brought

brought from India; and above all (which was the ſtrongeſt motive with regard to the populace) the immenſe treaſures which the king would bring with him, ſufficient to buy even the Romans themſelves.

Quintius had regular notice ſent him of whatever was ſaid or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as loſt on that ſide, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf with, and to lay the wrong ſtill more on the ſide of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their aſſemblies ſome ambaſſadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambaſſadors might advance. He gave this commiſſion to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the aſſembly, by acquainting it that an ambaſſador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with ſaying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Aſiatics, had Antiochus concerned himſelf ſooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then, every people would have preſerved their rights, and all had not been ſubjected to the Roman power. "But ſtill "(ſays he) if you execute the deſigns you have formed, "Antiochus may, by the aſſiſtance of the gods and "your aid, reſtore the affairs of Greece to their an-"cient ſplendour, how deſperate ſoever their condition "may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themſelves (without ſaying a word of the king) with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the ſervice Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any raſh reſolution in an affair of ſo much importance as that in queſtion: That bold reſolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleaſing

a pleaſing proſpect at firſt, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely ſucceſsful: That the Roman ambaſſadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: that as things were ſtill undecided, it would ſhow more wiſdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their ſeveral claims and pretenſions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Aſia in a war, of which the conſequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even againſt admitting the Romans into the aſſembly; ſo that the oldeſt and wiſeſt among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not ſo much from any hopes he entertained, of being able to make the leaſt impreſſion on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the ſole cauſe of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it againſt their wills, and merely through neceſſity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans: He made a tranſient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it; and after ſaying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only obſerved, that if they imagined themſelves aggrieved, it would appear much more reaſonable to make their remonſtrances to the ſenate, who were always ready to hear their complaints; than out of mere wantonneſs to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would diſturb the peace of the univerſe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of thoſe who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his repreſentations, which however were diſregarded at that time. Thoas,

and

and thoſe of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in preſence of the Romans, that a decree ſhould be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius deſiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus (then in office) was ſo inconſiderate as to anſwer in the moſt inſolent tone, that he had buſineſs of much greater conſequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himſelf would ſoon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tyber: ſo violent and furious a ſpirit had ſeiſed all the Ætolians, and even their principal magiſtrates. Quintius and the reſt of the ambaſſadors returned to Corinth.

[f] The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very aſtoniſhing reſolutions, to ſeiſe by a treacherous ſtratagem Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of theſe expeditions.

Diocles ſet out for Demetrias, where, being aſſiſted by Eurylochus's faction who was an exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himſelf maſter of the city.

But Thoas was not ſo ſucceſsful in Chalcis, which he imagined he ſhould be able to ſeiſe by the help of an exile: for the magiſtrates, who were ſtrongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating againſt their city, put it in a good poſture of defence, and enabled it to ſuſtain a vigorous ſiege. Thus Thoas, failing in his deſign, returned back in the utmoſt confuſion.

The enterpriſe againſt Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No acceſs could be had to it, but under the maſk of friendſhip. Nabis had long ſolicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thouſand foot thither.

[f] Liv. l. xxxv. n, 34—39.

thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, he attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, made a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

[g] Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, but he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no

g Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

ſmall importance. By this means he alſo gained the friendſhip and confidence of the worthieſt men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reaſon, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been ſold, they reſolved, by a public decree, to make him a preſent of the monies ariſing from that ſale, amounting to an hundred and twenty * talents; and ſent him a deputation to deſire his acceptance of them.

On this occaſion, ſays Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great perſonage was of the pureſt and moſt perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really ſuch: not one of the Spartans would undertake the commiſſion of offering him that preſent. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excuſed themſelves; and therefore it was at laſt reſolved to ſend Timolaus, who had formerly been his gueſt.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the houſe of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindeſt reception. Here he had an opportunity of conſidering the ſeverity of his whole conduct, the greatneſs of his ſentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was ſo aſtoniſhed at what he ſaw, that he did not dare ſo much as to mention to Philopœmen the preſent he was come to offer him, ſo that, giving ſome other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was ſent again, but was not more ſucceſsful than before. At laſt, going a third time, he ventured (but with great pain to himſelf) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the inſtant he had done ſpeaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expreſſing the higheſt gratitude

to

* An hundred and twenty thouſand crowns.

to the Spartans, he adviſed them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting ſuch of their friends as were men of probity, becauſe they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wiſdom without expence to them; but to keep their gold to purchaſe and corrupt the wicked, and thoſe who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their ſeditious diſcourſes; in order that being paid for their ſilence, they might not occaſion ſo many diſtractions in the government. "For it is much more adviſeable, "(added he) to ſtop an enemy's mouth, than that of "a friend." Such was the diſintereſtedneſs of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare theſe great and noble ſentiments with the baſeneſs of thoſe grovelling wretches whoſe whole ſtudy is to heap up riches.

[h] Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promiſes he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the preſent ſtate of Greece, and eſpecially by the reſolutions which had been taken in the general aſſembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to ſet out immediately for that country. He went with ſuch precipitation, that he did not give himſelf time to concert the neceſſary meaſures for ſo important a war, nor carry with him a ſufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampſacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the Eaſt, brought only ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. Theſe troops would hardly have ſufficed, had he been to poſſeſs himſelf only of a naked and defenceleſs country, without having ſo formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppoſe.

He arrived firſt at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been ſent by the Ætolians and their ambaſſador, he went to Lamia, where

[h] Liv. l. xxxv. n. 43—45.

where their aſſembly was held. He was received there with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; inſinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their intereſt, ſince, at the firſt ſignal they gave him, he was come, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations ſhould ſoon be anſwered: That as ſoon as the ſeaſon for navigation ſhould arrive, they ſhould ſee all Greece filled with arms, men, and horſes, and all the ſea-coaſts covered with gallies: That he would ſpare neither expence, application, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the firſt rank in it: That with his numerous armies, there would arrive from Aſia munitions of every kind: That all he deſired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence. Having ended his ſpeech he withdrew.

The moſt judicious in the aſſembly ſaw plainly that Antiochus, inſtead of a real and preſent ſuccour, as he had promiſed, gave them little more than hopes and promiſes. They could have wiſhed that they had only choſen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas, having gained a majority, cauſed Antiochus to be nominated generaliſſimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council whenever he ſhould think proper to deliberate with them.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Antiochus endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his intereſt, but in vain. He poſſeſſes himſelf of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war againſt him, and ſend Manius Acilius the conſul into Greece. Antiochus makes an ill uſe of Hannibal's counſel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians ſubmit to the Romans.*

[a] THE firſt ſubject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was, with what enterpriſe to begin firſt. It was thought adviſeable to make a ſecond attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops ſet out for that city without loſs of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with ſuch citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the ſeat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done: That nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, becauſe that the one would always defend them againſt the other; and that by this means they would hold both in reſpect: that they would do well to conſider, in caſe they ſhould not agree to the propoſal now made them, the great danger to which they would expoſe themſelves; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great diſtance; whereas the king was preſent and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Calchis, replied, that he could not gueſs what people it was that

[a] A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46—51. Appian in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whoſe ſake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece. That he knew of no city garriſoned by Roman ſoldiers, nor that paid the leaſt tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppreſſed by them. That as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occaſion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the ſweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans: That they did not refuſe the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would ſhow themſelves friends, the firſt thing they were deſired to do was, to leave their iſland: That they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This anſwer was reported to the king; as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he reſolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill concerted a firſt ſtep did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourſe elſewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Antiochus and thoſe of the Ætolians at Ægæ; where their aſſembly was held, in preſence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambaſſador ſpoke firſt. He * was a vain man (as thoſe generally are who live in the courts and at the expence of princes;) and fancying himſelf a great orator, he ſpoke with an abſolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vaſt body of cavalry was paſſing the Helleſpont into Europe, conſiſting partly of cuiraſſiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horſe-back,

* *Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt vaniloquus, maria terraſque inani ſonitu verborum compleverat.* Liv.

back, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Cadduſians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphilia; nations, who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him, every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold: That they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: that in consequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe; that nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the East, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies: that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general,

and

and againſt Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot what they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the ſafety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himſelf had obſerved him during the engagement wholly employed in conſulting the auſpices, in ſacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a prieſt, whilſt himſelf was expoſing his perſon and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preſervation.

To this Quintius anſwered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had ſtudied to pleaſe by this ſpeech; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition and character of the Ætolians, whoſe courage conſiſted ſolely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to gain their eſteem; but had ſtudied to ingratiate himſelf with the king's ambaſſadors, and, by their means, with the king himſelf: that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the ſpeeches made by the ambaſſadors ſhowed it viſibly enough: that on both ſides, nothing but boaſting and falſehood had been employed. That vaunting of troops they had not, they ſeduced and blew up the vanity of each other by falſe promiſes and vain hopes; the Ætolians aſſerting boldly on one ſide, (as you have juſt now heard) that they had defeated Philip, and preſerved the Romans; and that all the Cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other ſide, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horſe and foot, and to cover the ſea with his fleets. "This, "ſays he, puts me in mind of an entertainment given "me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy "man, who treats his gueſts in the beſt manner. "Surpriſed at the prodigious quantity and variety of "diſhes

" diſhes that were ſerved up, we aſked him how it " was poſſible for him, in the month of June, to get " together ſo great a quantity of game. My friend, " who was not vain-glorious like theſe people, only " fell a laughing, and owned ſincerely, that what we " took for veniſon, was nothing but ſwine's fleſh, " ſeaſoned ſeveral ways, and cooked up with different " ſauces. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the king's " troops which have been ſo highly extolled, and " whoſe number has been vainly multiplied in mighty " names. For theſe Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and " Elymæans, are all but one nation, and a nation of " ſlaves rather than ſoldiers. Why may not I, Achæans, " repreſent to you all the motions and expeditions of " this great king, who one moment hurries to the aſ- " ſembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for proviſions " and money; and the next goes in perſon to the very " gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire " with ignominy. Antiochus has very injudiciouſly " given credit to the Ætolians; and they, with as " little judgment, have believed Antiochus. This " ought to teach you not to ſuffer yourſelves to be " impoſed upon, but to rely upon the faith of the " Romans, which you have ſo often experienced. I " am ſurpriſed they can venture to tell you, that it " will be ſafeſt for you to ſtand neuter, and to remain " only ſpectators of the war. That would, indeed, " be a ſure method; I mean, to become the prey of " the victor."

The Achæans were neither long, nor divided in their deliberations, and the reſult was, that they ſhould declare war againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the requeſt of Quintius, they ſent five hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater ſatisfaction from the Bœotians, who anſwered, that they would conſider on what

what was to be done, when that prince ſhould come into Eœotia.

In the mean time Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction againſt the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The reſt of the cities ſoon following their example, he made himſelf maſter of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquiſition, in having reduced ſo conſiderable an iſland in his firſt campaign. But can that be called a conqueſt, where there are no enemies to make oppoſition?

[b] But terrible ones were making preparations againſt that prince. The Romans, after conſulting the will of the gods by omens and auſpices, proclaimed war againſt Antiochus and his adherents. Proceſſions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to ſolemnize the great games for ten days, in caſe they ſhould be ſucceſsful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach would ſo religious, though blind a paganiſm, reflect on Chriſtian generals, who ſhould be aſhamed of piety and religion!

At the ſame time they omitted no human means to their ſucceſs. The ſenators and inferior magiſtrates were forbidden to remove to any diſtance from Rome, from which they could not return the ſame day; and five ſenators were not allowed to be abſent from it at the ſame time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the conſul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brunduſium on the fifteenth of May; and ſet out from Rome himſelf ſome days before.

About the ſame time, ambaſſadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Maſiniſſa, arrived there, to

[b] A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xvi. n. 1—15. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93—96.

to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ſhips. The ſenate ſaid, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only deſired Philip to aſſiſt the conſul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having ſolicited many cities, either by his envoys or in perſon, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now reſtored to favour, was preſent at it, and his opinion was firſt aſked. He began, by inſiſting on the neceſſity there was to uſe the utmoſt endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's intereſt: which, he ſaid, was ſo important a ſtep, that if he ſucceeded, they might aſſure themſelves of the ſucceſs of the war. "And indeed "(ſays he) as Philip ſuſtained ſo long the whole weight "of the Roman power, what may not be expected "from a war in which the two greateſt kings of Eu- "rope and Aſia will unite their forces; eſpecially as "the Romans will have thoſe againſt them in it, who "gave them the ſuperiority before; I mean the Æto- "lians and Athamanians, to whom only, as is well "known, they were indebted for victory? Now, who "can doubt but Philip may eaſily be brought over "from the Roman intereſt, if what Thoas ſo often "repeated to the king, in order to induce him to croſs "into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly in- "cenſed to ſee himſelf reduced to a ſhameful ſervi- "tude under the name of peace, waited only an op- "portunity to declare himſelf? And could he ever "hope one more favourable than that which now "offers itſelf?" If Philip ſhould refuſe to join Antiochus, Hannibal adviſed him to ſend his ſon Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waſte the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of aſſiſting the Romans.

He

He inſiſted on a ſtill more important point, and aſſerted, as he had always done, that it would be impoſſible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which had been his reaſon for always adviſing Antiochus to begin the war there. That ſince another courſe had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece; it was his opinion, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, that the king ought to ſend immediately for all his troops out of Aſia; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who poſſibly might fail him on a ſudden. That the inſtant thoſe forces ſhould arrive, it was proper to march towards thoſe coaſts of Greece, oppoſite to Italy, and order his fleet to ſet ſail thither alſo. That he ſhould employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coaſts of Italy; and keep the other half in ſome neighbouring harbour, in order to ſeem upon the point of croſſing into Italy; and actually to do ſo, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. By this means, ſaid he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the neceſſity of defending their own coaſts; and, at the ſame time, it will be the beſt method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Romans could be conquered. "Theſe (concluded Hannibal) "are my thoughts; and if I am not ſo well qualified "for preſiding in another war, I ought at leaſt to have "learned, by my good and ill ſucceſſes, how to act in "the field againſt the Romans. My zeal and fidelity "may be depended upon. As to the reſt, I beſeech the "gods to proſper all your undertakings, whatſoever "they may be."

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had ſaid, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the preſent poſture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Aſia; he immediately ſending orders to Polyxenides, his admiral,

admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the reſt of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by aſſuring him that he could not fail of being victorious. They obſerved further, that ſhould he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be aſcribed to Hannibal, becauſe he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reaſon it was neceſſary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the beſt counſels loſt, and the moſt powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes ſeveral cities of Theſſaly; he is however obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Lariſſa, Bebius the Roman prætor having ſent it a ſpeedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell diſtractedly in love with the man's daughter at whoſe houſe he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was ſo paſſionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he reſolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterpriſes he had formed, the war againſt the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he ſpent the reſt of the winter in feaſts and diverſions, on the occaſion of his nuptials. This taſte for pleaſure ſoon communicated itſelf from the king to the whole court, and occaſioned an univerſal neglect of military diſcipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the conſul was advancing towards him in Theſſaly with the utmoſt diligence. Immediately the king ſet out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very ſmall number of the confederate troops, whoſe officers told him, that it was impoſſible for them, though they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring more forces into the field; the

king then found, but too late, how much he had been impoſed upon by the great promiſes of Thoas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be ſafe for him to rely on the troops of ſuch allies. All he could do at that time was, to ſeiſe the paſs of Thermopylæ, and to ſend to the Ætolians for a re-inforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Aſiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only thoſe troops he had brought the year before, which ſcarce exceeded ten thouſand men.

[c] Antiochus imagined he had provided ſufficiently for his ſecurity againſt the Romans, who were advancing againſt him, by having ſeiſed the paſs of Thermopylæ, and ſtrengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The conſul came forward, determined to attack him. Moſt of his officers and ſoldiers had been employed in the war againſt Philip. Theſe he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practiſed in military affairs than Antiochus; who being newly married, and enervated by pleaſures and voluptuouſneſs, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the ſame manner as nuptials are ſolemnized. Acilius had diſpatched Cato his lieutenant, with a large detachment in queſt of ſome bye path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpreſſible fatigues, went over the mountains through the ſame path where Xerxes, and Brennus afterwards, opened themſelves a paſſage; when falling ſuddenly on ſome ſoldiers, whom he met there, he ſoon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to ſound, and advances at the head of his detachment ſword in hand, and with great ſhouts.

[c] Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96—98.

ſhouts. A body of ſix hundred Ætolians, who guarded ſome of the eminences, ſeeing him come down the mountains, take to their heels, and retire towards their army, where they ſpread univerſal terrour. At the ſame inſtant the conſul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth ſhattered by a ſtone, was in ſuch exceſſive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to ſtand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now univerſally routed in a place, where there were almoſt no outlets to eſcape through: for on one ſide they were ſtopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; ſo that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The ſoldiers, however, crowding and puſhing forward, to avoid the enemy's ſwords, threw one another into the moraſſes and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them periſhed.

After the battle was over, the conſul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was ſtill hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud, in the tranſports of his joy, that neither himſelf nor the Romans could ever reward his ſervices as they deſerved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been conſul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think that the accepting of a ſubaltern employment for the ſervice of his country, was any diſgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the purſuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, five hundred excepted, with whom he eſcaped to Chalcis.

Acilius ſent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble, in a general, to do juſtice in this manner to virtue, and

not to harbour any thing ſo mean as jealouſy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy ſo much the greater, as they had very much doubted the ſucceſs of the war againſt ſo powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and ſacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thankſgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtleſs often admired, to ſee the heathens ſo very careful in beginning and ending all their wars with ſolemn acts of religion; endeavouring in the firſt place, by vows and ſacrifices to acquire the favour of thoſe whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards returning them public and ſolemn thanks for the ſucceſs of their arms. This was a double teſtimony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which (of the ſame antiquity with the world) has been preſerved by all nations; that there is a Supreme Being and a Providence, which preſides over all human events. This laudable cuſtom is obſerved regularly among us: and it is only among Chriſtians, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, that it may be called a religious cuſtom. I only wiſh that one practice were added to it, which certainly correſponds with the intention of ſuperiors as well eccleſiaſtical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the ſame time for thoſe brave officers and ſoldiers, who have ſhed their blood in the defenſe of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the ſurrender of all the cities and fortreſſes which that prince had taken, and eſpecially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The * conſul, after his victory, diſcovered ſuch a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itſelf.

Though

* *Multo modeſtiâ poſt victoriam quàm ipſa victoria, laudabilior.* Liv.

[d] Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: that it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: that to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the baliſtæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burned in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four-and-twenty days, without the least intermission either day or night.

It was plain, that as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting but this proceeded from the over-fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, they took advantage of the repose allowed

[d] Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22—26.

them, and retired at the ſame time with the Romans. They continued this practice for ſome time: But the conſul having drawn off his troops at midnight as uſual, at three that morning he aſſaulted the city in three places only; placing at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move, till a ſignal ſhould be given. Such Ætolians as were aſleep being very drowſy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmoſt difficulty; and thoſe who roſe from their ſlumbers, ran up and down at random wherever the noiſe called them. At day break, the ſignal being given by the conſul, the aſſault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the beſieged, on that account had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an inſtant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmoſt precipitation into the citadel. The general ſuffered the city to be plundered, not ſo much from a ſpirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the ſoldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of proviſions it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the firſt aſſault, the garriſon ſurrendered. Among the priſoners was Damocritius, a perſon of the greateſt diſtinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had anſwered Quintius, "That he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he had juſt before called in Antiochus.

At the ſame time Philip was beſieging *Lamia, which was but ſeven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambaſſadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promiſed them a ſpeedy ſuccour; gave them immediately a conſiderable ſum of money, and kept Thoas, who ſtaid very willingly with him, to haſten the execution of his promiſes.

The

* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

[e] The Æolians, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negociation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole people in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mourn-

[e] Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 27, 35.

ful cries were again heard, and the citizens beſought him to take compaſſion of them. Quintius, by a ſign with his hand, bid them ſend deputies to him: when immediately Pheneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themſelves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble poſture; "Your calamity (ſays he) ba-"niſhes from my mind all thoughts of reſentment and "revenge. You now find that all things have hap-"pened as I foretold you they would; and you have "not the conſolation of being able to ſay, that none "of theſe misfortunes were owing to yourſelves. But "deſtined, as I am, by Providence to preſerve Greece, "your ingratitude ſhall not cancel my inclination to "do good. Depute therefore ſome perſons to the "conſul, and beg a truce for as much time as may "ſuffice for ſending ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to "make your ſubmiſſions to the ſenate. I will be your "mediator and advocate with the conſul." They followed Quintius's advice in every thing. The conſul granted them a truce, broke up the ſiege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy ſucceſs of this campaign, and to offer preſents and ſacrifices to the gods in the Capitol. They were received there with the higheſt marks of diſtinction; and the Romans gave up to them Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, who had been an hoſtage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on againſt Antiochus in Greece.

SECT. VII. *Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus's fleet, is defeated by Livius. L. Scipio, the new conſul, is appointed to carry on the war againſt Antiochus. Scipio Africanus, his brother, ſerves under him. The Rhodians defeat Hannibal in a ſea-fight. The conſul marches againſt Antiochus, and croſſes into Aſia. He gains a ſignal victory over him near Magneſia. The king obtains a peace; and gives up, by a treaty, all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus. Diſpute, between Eumenes and the Rhodians, in preſence of the Roman ſenate, relating to the Grecian cities of Aſia.*

[f] WHILST the affairs I have juſt related paſſed in Greece, Antiochus lived eaſy and undiſturbed in Epheſus: relying on the aſſurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Romans, who (they declared) did not intend to croſs into Aſia. Hannibal was the only perſon capable of rouſing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that inſtead of entertaining vain hopes, and ſuffering himſelf to be lulled aſleep by irrational and improbable diſcourſe, he might be aſſured, that he would ſoon be forced to fight the Romans both by ſea and land, in Aſia, and for Aſia; and that he muſt reſolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it ſword in hand, againſt enemies who aſpired at no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole world.

The king then became ſenſible of the great danger he was in, and immediately ſent orders to haſten the march of the eaſtern troops which were not yet arrived. He alſo fitted out a fleet, embarked and ſailed to the Cherſoneſus. He there fortified Lyſimachia, Seſtos, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from croſſing into Aſia by

[f] A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian in Syriac, p. 99, 100.

by the Helleſpont; and this being done, he returned to Epheſus.

Here it was reſolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in ſearch of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was juſt before arrived in the Ægean ſea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both ſides; but at laſt Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ſhips were ſunk, thirteen taken, and he eſcaped with the reſt to Epheſus. The Romans ſailed into the harbour of Canna, in Ætolia, drew their ſhips aſhore, and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

[g] Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magneſia, aſſembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coaſt, and reſolved to equip another ſo powerful, as might be able to preſerve the empire of thoſe ſeas. For this purpoſe, he refitted ſuch ſhips as had been brought off, re-inforced them with new ones, and ſent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch thoſe of Syria and Phœnicia. He alſo gave part of the army to Seleucus his ſon, whom he ſent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in perſon with the reſt into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

[h] During theſe tranſactions, the Ætolian ambaſſadors arrived at Rome, where they preſſed to be admitted to audience, becauſe the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the ſenate very much exaſperated againſt the Ætolians. They were conſidered, not as common enemies, but as a people, ſo very untractable, that it would be to no purpoſe to conclude an alliance with them. After ſeveral

[g] Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100.
[h] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

ſeveral days' debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refuſed peace, two propoſals were made to them, and left to their option: theſe were, either to ſubmit entirely to the will of the ſenate; or to pay a thouſand * talents, and to acknowledge all thoſe for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans ſhould conſider as ſuch. As the Ætolians deſired to know particularly how far they were to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate, no expreſs anſwer was made them. They therefore withdrew, without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

[i] The next year the Romans gave the command of the land-armies, which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new conſul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to ſerve as lieutenant. The ſenate and people of Rome were very deſirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greateſt ſervice to the army in which he ſhould fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Regillus.

The conſul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in beſieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a ſix months' truce, in order that they might have full time for ſending a ſecond embaſſy to Rome, he reſolved to march his army through Theſſaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to croſs over into Aſia. However, he thought it adviſeable previouſly to inform himſelf how Philip might ſtand affected. This prince gave the army ſuch a reception as might be expected from the moſt faithful and moſt zealous ally. At his arrival, as well as departure, he furniſhed it all neceſſary refreſhments and ſupplies, with a truly royal munificence.

In

[i] A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, & 100.

* *About* 190,000l.

In the entertainments * he made for the conſul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he diſcovered an eaſy, graceful air; and ſuch a politeneſs, as was very pleaſing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generoſity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praiſe which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is alſo very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his gueſts, the moſt illuſtrious perſonages in the world, a Roman conſul, and at the ſame time general of the armies of that republic; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that conſul's brother. Profuſion is ordinary, and in ſome meaſure pardonable on theſe occaſions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his gueſts. He regaled them in ſuch a manner as became a great prince; and with a magnificence that ſuited their dignity and his own, but at the ſame time was far from diſcovering the leaſt pomp or oſtentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging carriage of the maſter of the feaſt; and by the care he took to ſet before his gueſts with taſte and decorum whatever might be moſt agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas viſa.* Theſe perſonal qualities, in the ſenſe of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his gueſts a more advantageous idea of him, than the moſt ſumptuous profuſions could have done. This excellent taſte on both ſides, ſo uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for perſons of their high rank.

The conſul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had inveſted them with full powers for that purpoſe, the remainder of the ſum he was to pay them.

Philip

* *Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas viſa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum, ſicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ ſine luxuria eſſet, non averſum.* Liv.

Philip ſeemed to make it his duty, as well as pleaſure to accompany the Roman army; and to ſupply it with neceſſaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were ſuperior to his own; and his inability to ſhake off the yoke of obedience and ſubmiſſion, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people, on whom his future fate depended; and it was wiſe in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwiſe in ſome meaſure have been obliged to do. For in reality, it was ſcarce poſſible for him not to retain a very ſtrong reſentment againſt the Romans for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accuſtom themſelves to depend on and ſubmit to others.

[k] In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the paſſage of the conſul's troops into Aſia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a ſtratagem, defeated Pauſiſtratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, appointed to ſuccour the Romans. He attacked him by ſurpriſe in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or ſunk nine-and-twenty of his ſhips; and Pauſiſtratus himſelf loſt his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, ſo far from being diſcouraged by this great loſs, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets ſailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was beſieging in his capital. This ſuccour arrived very ſeaſonably; Eumenes being juſt on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes the Achæan, who had formed himſelf under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. He had entered the city with a

[k] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9—11. & n. 18—22. Appian in Syr. p. 101—103.

thouſand foot and an hundred horſe. At the head of his own troops only, and in ſight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of ſuch extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raiſe the ſiege, and quit the country.

[l] The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in queſt of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians, ſingly, fought him on the coaſts of Pamphylia. By the goodneſs of their ſhips, and the dexterity of their ſeamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiſte, near Patara; and there blocked him up ſo cloſe, as made it impoſſible for him to act for the ſervice of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman conſul was advancing by haſty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to paſs the Helleſpont and enter Aſia. Antiochus then ſaw the imminent danger he was in, and made haſte to take all poſſible methods for preventing it.

[m] He ſent ambaſſadors to Pruſias king of Bithynia, to inform him of the deſign which the Romans had of entering Aſia. They were ordered to diſplay, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the fatal conſequences of that enterpriſe: that they were coming with a deſign to deſtroy all the kingdoms in the world, and ſubject them to the empire of the Romans: that after having ſubdued Philip and Nabis, they had reſolved to attack him: that ſhould he have the ill-fortune to be overcome, the fire ſpreading, would ſoon reach Bithynia: that as to Eumenes no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily ſubmitted himſelf, and

[l] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hanib. c. viii. [m] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excrpt. Legat. c. xxii.

and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

Theſe motives had made a great impreſſion on Pruſias, but the letters he received at the ſame time from Scipio the conſul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and ſuſpicions. The latter repreſented to him, that it was the conſtant practice of the Romans, to beſtow the greateſt honours on ſuch kings as ſought their alliance; and he mentioned ſeveral examples of that kind, in which he himſelf had been concerned. He ſaid, that in Spain, ſeveral princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconſiderable figure, were ſince become great kings: that Maſiniſſa had not only been reſtored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the moſt powerful potentates of the univerſe. That Philip and Nabis, though vanquiſhed by Quintius, had nevertheleſs been ſuffered to ſit peaceably on their thrones: that the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay, was remitted, and his ſon, who was an hoſtage in Rome, ſent back to him: that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not loſt his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had ſent as their ambaſſador to Pruſias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious: and how much ſafer it would be for him to rely on the friendſhip of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king being diſappointed of the hopes he had entertained of bringing over Pruſias to his intereſt, now meditated only how he might beſt oppoſe the paſſage of the Romans into Aſia, and prevent its being made the ſeat of war. He imagined, that the moſt

moſt effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the ſeas, of which he had been almoſt diſpoſſeſſed, by the loſs of the two battles related above; that then he might employ his fleets againſt whom, and in what manner he pleaſed: and that it would be impoſſible for the enemy to tranſport an army into Aſia by the Helleſpont, or by any other way, when his fleets ſhould be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus therefore reſolved to hazard a ſecond battle, and for that purpoſe went to Epheſus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the beſt of his power, furniſhed it abundantly with all things neceſſary to another engagement, and ſent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in queſt of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his reſolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara; and that king Eumenes had ſailed with his whole fleet to the Cherſoneſus, to join the conſul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myoneſus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked their fleet with as little ſucceſs as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Epheſus, after having ſunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ſhips, and taken thirteen.

[n] Antiochus was ſo ſtruck with the news of this defeat, that he ſeemed entirely diſconcerted; and, as if he had been deprived of his ſenſes, on a ſudden he took ſuch meaſures as were evidently contrary to his intereſt. In his conſternation, he ſent orders for drawing his forces out of Lyſimachia and the other cities of the Helleſpont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards thoſe parts, with a deſign of croſſing into Aſia; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave thoſe troops in the places where

[n] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31. Appian. in Syr. p. 104.

where they were. For Lyſimachia, being very ſtrongly fortified, might have held out a long ſiege, and perhaps very far in the winter; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of proviſions and forage; and during that interval, he might have taken meaſures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of thoſe places at a time when they were moſt neceſſary in them, but did it in ſo precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and proviſions (of both which he had laid up very conſiderable quantities) behind them in thoſe cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and proviſions in ſuch great plenty, that they ſeemed to have been prepared expreſsly for the uſe of their army: and, at the ſame time, the paſſage of the Helleſpont was ſo open, that they carried over their army without the leaſt oppoſition, at that very part where the enemy might have diſputed it with them to the greateſt advantage.

We have here a ſenſible image of what is ſo often mentioned in the ſcriptures, that when GOD is determined to puniſh and deſtroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or miniſters, of counſel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Iſaiah threaten his people. ° "For behold, the LORD, the Lord of Hoſts doth take away from Jeruſalem, and from Judah, the ſtay and the ſtaff, the whole ſtay of bread, and the whole ſtay of water.——The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient.——The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counſellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator." But a very remarkable circumſtance is, that our pagan hiſtorian ſays here expreſsly, and repeats it twice, that * "GOD took away the king's judgment, and overthrew

° Iſaiah, iii. 1, 2, 3.

* Θεω βλαπλοντος ηδη της λογισμους· οπερ απασι προσιοντων ατυχημαλων, επιγιγνεται——ω μην ωτε τον διαπλων εφυλαξεν υπο Θεοβλαβειας.

threw his reaſon; a puniſhment," ſays he, "that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into ſome great calamity." The expreſſion is very ſtrong; "GOD overthrew the king's reaſon." He took from him, that is, he refuſed him ſenſe, prudence, and judgment: He baniſhed from his mind every ſalutary thought; he confuſed him, and made him even averſe to all the good counſel that could be given him. This is what * David beſought GOD to do with regard to Ahitophel, Abſalom's miniſter: "O LORD, I pray thee, turn the counſel of Ahitophel into fooliſhneſs." The word in the Latin verſion, is very ſtrong, INFATUA: the import of which is, how prudent ſoever his councils may be, make them appear fooliſh and ſtupid to Abſalom; and they accordingly did appear ſo. "And Abſalom and all the men of Iſrael ſaid, the counſel of Huſhai the Archite is better than the counſel of Ahitophel: For the LORD had appointed to defeat the good counſel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the LORD might bring evil upon Abſalom.

[p] The Romans, being come into Aſia, halted ſome time at Troy, which they conſidered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they ſet out to ſettle in Italy. The conſul offered up ſacrifices to Minerva, who preſided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the ſame manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long ſeparation. The inhabitants of this city, ſeeing their poſterity conquerors of the Weſt and of Africa, and laying claim to Aſia, as a kingdom that had been poſſeſſed by their anceſtors, imagined

[p] Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

* *Infatua, quæſo, Domine, conſilium Ahitophel.*——*Domini autem nutu diſſipatum eſt conſilium Ahitophel utile*, UT INDUCERET DOMINUS SUPER ABSALOM MALUM. 2 *Reg.* xv. 31. & xviii. 14. O LORD, I pray thee, turn the counſel of Ahitophel into fooliſhneſs. 2 Sam. xiv. 31. For the LORD had appointed to defeat the good counſel of Ahitophel, TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING EVIL UPON ABSALOM. *Chap.* xvii. *ver.* 1.

imagined they ſaw Troy riſe out of its aſhes in greater ſplendour than ever. On the other ſide, the Romans were infinitely delighted to ſee themſelves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

[q] When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had paſſed the Helleſpont, he began to think himſelf undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himſelf from a war in which he had engaged raſhly, and without examining ſeriouſly all its conſequences. This made him reſolve to ſend an ambaſſador to the Romans, to propoſe conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army, it having halted for ſeveral days that were the feſtival days at Rome, in which the ſacred ſhields, called *Ancilia*, were carried in ſolemn proceſſion with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, or prieſts of Mars, whoſe office was to keep theſe ſhields, had not croſſed the ſea yet; for being one of the Salii, he could not leave the place where the feſtival was ſolemnizing, ſo that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that perſons of ſo much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worſhip to ſuch improper objects! This delay gave the king ſome hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Aſia, would have attacked him on a ſudden. Beſides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatneſs of ſoul, his generoſity and clemency to thoſe he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now ſatiated with glory, would not be averſe to an accommodation; eſpecially as he had a preſent to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own ſon, a child, who had been taken at

[q] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiii. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 7, 8. Appian. in Syr. p. 105—110.

at ſea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the ſpokeſman in this embaſſy, opened his ſpeech with ſaying, that the very circumſtance which had fruſtrated all the reſt of the negociations for peace between his maſter and the Romans, now made him hope ſucceſs in the preſent; becauſe all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed: that the king, to put a ſtop to the complaints of his ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lyſimachia: that as to Smyrna, Lampſacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies which they ſhould demand of him: that he would conſent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war: he concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and viciſſitude of human things, and not lay too great a ſtreſs on their preſent proſperity: that they ought to reſt ſatisfied with making Europe, whoſe extent was ſo immenſe, the boundaries of their empire: that if they were ambitious of joining ſome part of Aſia to it, the king would acquieſce with their deſire, provided that the limits of it were clearly ſettled.

The ambaſſador imagined that theſe propoſals, which ſeemed ſo advantageous, could not be rejected; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjuſtly been the occaſion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it: they were not ſatisfied with his evacuating the garriſons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to reſtore all Aſia to its liberty, in the ſame manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unleſs the king abandoned all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, purſuant to his private

private inſtructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by aſſuring him, that the king would ſend him his ſon without ranſom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatneſs of ſoul, and the character of the Romans, he promiſed him a large ſum of money; and aſſured him that he might entirely diſpoſe of all things in his power if he could mediate a peace for him. To theſe overtures, Scipio made the following anſwer: "I am "not ſurpriſed to find you unacquainted both with "me and the Romans, as you do not even know the "condition of the prince who ſent you hither. If "(as you aſſert) the uncertainty of the fate of arms "ſhould prompt us to grant you peace upon eaſier "terms, your ſovereign ought to have kept poſſeſſion "of Lyſimachia, in order to have ſhut us out of the "Cherſoneſus; or elſe he ought to have met us in "the Helleſpont to have diſputed our paſſage into "Aſia with us. But, by abandoning them to us, he "put the yoke on his own neck; ſo that all he now "has to do, is, to ſubmit to whatever conditions "we ſhall think fit to preſcribe. Among the ſeveral "offers he makes me, I cannot but be ſtrongly "affected with that which relates to the giving me "back my ſon: I hope the reſt will not have the "power to tempt me. As a private man I can pro-"miſe to preſerve eternally the deepeſt ſenſe of gra-"titude, for ſo precious a gift as he offers me in my "ſon; but as a public one, he muſt expect nothing "from me. Go, therefore, and tell him, in my "name, that the beſt counſel I can give him, is to "lay down his arms, and not reject any articles of "peace which may be propoſed to him. This is the "beſt advice I could give him as a good and faithful "friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have preſcribed harder conditions had they conquered him, and ſuch a peace appeared to him as fatal as the moſt unfortunate

unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did alſo on their ſide.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he ſent his ſon to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and reſtored both joy and health to a ſick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, "Go, (ſays he to the envoys) and "thank the king from me, and tell him, that at pre-"ſent, the only teſtimony I can give him of my gra-"titude, is, to adviſe him not to fight, till he hears "of my being arrived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay of ſome days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more ſeriouſly than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a ſolid peace.

Although the ſuperiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than thoſe of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately; nevertheleſs, the wiſdom and authority of Scipio, whom he conſidered as his laſt refuge in caſe any calamitous accident ſhould befal him, prevailed over the former conſideration. He paſſed the river Phrygius (it is thought to be the Hermus) and poſted himſelf near Magneſia, at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp ſo ſtrongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The conſul followed ſoon after. The armies continued ſeveral days in ſight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and fifty-four elephants: That of the Romans was compoſed, in the whole, of but thirty thouſand men, and ſixteen elephants. The conſul, finding that the king lay ſtill, ſummoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in refuſing to venture a battle. He repreſented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be neceſſary, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, for the ſoldiers to keep the field; or, if they ſhould go into winter quarters, to diſcontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never ſhowed ſo much contempt for an enemy as on this occaſion: they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately againſt the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the paliſades, and paſs the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in caſe they would not quit it. There is ſome probability that the conſul was deſirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, ſince his preſence only would have diminiſhed the glory of his ſucceſs.

The next day, the conſul, after viewing the ſituation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would leſſen the courage of his own ſoldiers and animate the enemy, at laſt marched out with his troops, and both ſides prepared for a deciſive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the conſul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It conſiſted of two Roman legions, of five thouſand four hundred men each, and two ſuch bodies of Latine infantry. The Romans were poſted in the centre, and the Latines in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The firſt line of the centre was compoſed of * pikemen, or *Haſtati*; the ſecond of *Principes*, and the third of *Triarii*: Theſe, properly ſpeaking, compoſed the main body. On the ſide of the right wing, to cover and ſuſtain it, the conſul had poſted on the ſame line, three thouſand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column three thouſand horſe, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the reſt to the Romans. He poſted at the extremity of this wing, the light-

* Theſe are the names of the three different bodies of troops, of which the infantry of the Roman legions conſiſted.

light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought neceſſary to ſtrengthen the left wing in this manner, becauſe the rivers and banks, which were very ſteep, ſeemed a ſufficient rampart. Nevertheleſs, four ſquadrons of horſe were poſted there. To guard the camp, they left two thouſand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The ſixteen elephants were poſted behind the Triarii, by way of corps-de-reſerve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppoſe them to thoſe of the enemy, not only becauſe the latter were greatly ſuperior in number, but becauſe the African Elephants (all thoſe in the Roman camp being of that country) were very much inferior both in ſize and ſtrength to thoſe of India, and therefore were not able to oppoſe them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which compoſed it, and the diſparity of their arms. Sixteen thouſand foot, armed after the Macedonian faſhion, and who compoſed the phalanx, formed alſo the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep; and two elephants were poſted in each of the intervals which ſeparated them. It was this formed the principal ſtrength of the army. The ſight only of the elephants inſpired terror. The ſize, which in itſelf was very remarkable, was increaſed by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embelliſhed with gold, ſilver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of ſpoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, beſides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, fifteen hundred Aſiatic Gauls, three thouſand cuiraſſiers armed cap-a-pee, and a thouſand horſe, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of ſixteen elephants were poſted next in files. A little beyond

beyond was the king's regiment compoſed of the Argyraſpides, ſo called, from their arms being of ſilver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen, to whom two thouſand five hundred Myſians were joined. Then three thouſand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was cloſed by four thouſand ſlingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the ſame manner, except, that before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with ſcythes were poſted; with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whoſe thin ſwords (in order that the riders might reach down from the back of theſe beaſts) were ſix feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his ſon, and Antipater his nephew the left; and three lieutenant generals the main body.

A thick fog riſing in the morning, the ſky grew ſo dark, that it was not poſſible for the king's ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent, and the damp, occaſioned by this fog, ſoftened very much the bow-ſtrings, the ſlings, and * thongs or ſtraps, which were uſed for throwing javelings. The Romans did not ſuffer near ſo much, becauſe they ſcarce uſed any but heavy arms, ſwords, and javelins: and as the front of their army was of leſs extent, they could the eaſier ſee one another.

The chariots armed with ſcythes, which Antiochus had flattered himſelf would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confuſion, firſt occaſioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their ſtrength and weakneſs lay, oppoſed to them the Cretan archers, the ſlingers, and horſe who diſcharged javelins; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in ſmall platoons; and to pour on them, from every quarter, darts, ſtones, and javelins; ſhouting as loud as poſſible all the while. The horſes, frightened at theſe ſhouts, run away with the chariots, ſcour the field on all ſides, and turn againſt

* *Amenta.*

againſt their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this ſoon proved the deſtruction of the king's army; for the troops which were poſted near theſe chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their diſorder, left every part naked and defenceleſs, even to the very cuiraſſiers. The Roman cavalry vigorouſly charging the latter, it was not poſſible for them to ſtand the attack, ſo that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the ſpot, becauſe the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which ſpread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into diſorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageouſly; the ſoldiers who compoſed the phalanx not having an opportunity to uſe their long pikes, becauſe thoſe who fled had taken refuge amongſt them, and prevented their fighting, whilſt the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all ſides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no ſervice to it. The Roman ſoldiers, who had been uſed to fight in the wars in Africa againſt thoſe animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuoſity, either by piercing their ſides with their javelins, or by ham-ſtringing them with their ſwords. The firſt ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into diſorder; and the Romans were upon the point of ſurrounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had obſerved that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four ſquadrons of horſe had been poſted near it, as ſuppoſing it to be ſufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horſe, not only in front but in flank; becauſe that the four ſquadrons being unable to withſtand the charge

charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into diſorder, the infantry ſoon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had ſtaid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his ſoldiers to ſheathe their ſwords in all they met, who refuſed to face about againſt the enemy. This order being given ſo ſeaſonably, and immediately put in execution, had the deſired effect. The ſtronger fear prevailed over the leſs. Thoſe who were flying, firſt halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops, which conſiſted of two thouſand brave, well-diſciplined men, oppoſes the king, who was purſuing vigorouſly thoſe who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very ſeaſonably with two hundred horſe. Antiochus, being now charged on every ſide, turned his horſe, and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of ſlain, and as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

[r] It was obſerved, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx was one of the cauſes of his loſing the battle. In this body the chief ſtrength of his army conſiſted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was compoſed entirely of veteran, ſtout, and well-diſciplined ſoldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater ſervice, he ought to have given it leſs depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no uſe; and filled up the reſt of the front with new raiſed

[r] Appian.

raiſed troops, without courage and experience, who conſequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander uſed to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the purſuit and the plunder of the camp, fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe: fourteen hundred were taken priſoners, with fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans loſt but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horſe. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Aſia Minor, which now ſubmitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had eſcaped the ſlaughter as he could aſſemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his ſon Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both paſſed mount Taurus with the utmoſt diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

The inſtant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he ſent Antipater, his brother's ſon, and Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to ſue for peace. They found the conſul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themſelves to the latter, who preſented them to the conſul. They did not endeavour to excuſe Antiochus in any manner; and only ſued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You "have always" ſaid he to them, "pardoned with "greatneſs of mind, the kings and nations you have "conquered. How much more ſhould you be in-"duced

[a] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiv. Appian. in Syr. p. 110—113.

" duced to do this, after a victory which gives you the " empire of the univerſe? Henceforward, being be- " come equal to the gods, lay aſide all animoſity againſt " mortals, and make the good of human race your ſole " ſtudy for the future."

The council was ſummoned upon this embaſſy, and after having ſeriouſly examined the affair, the ambaſſadors were called in. Scipio Africanus ſpoke, and acquainted them with what had been reſolved. He ſaid, that as the Romans did not ſuffer themſelves to be depreſſed by adverſity, on the other ſide, they were never too elate from proſperity: that therefore they would not inſiſt upon any other demands, than thoſe they had made before the battle: that Antiochus ſhould evacuate all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus: that he ſhould pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at fifteen * thouſand Eubœan talents, and the payments were ſettled as follows; five hundred talents down, two thouſand five hundred when the ſenate ſhould have ratified the treaty, and the reſt in twelve years, a thouſand talents in each year: that he ſhould pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the reſidue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furniſhed the king of Syria; and that he ſhould deliver twenty hoſtages, to be choſen by the Romans. He added, " The Romans cannot perſuade " themſelves, that a prince who gives Hannibal re- " fuge is ſincerely deſirous of peace. They there- " fore demand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, " as alſo Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent " in fomenting this war." All theſe conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was ſent to Rome with the Ambaſſadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the ſenate with the particulars of this negociation, and to obtain the ratifi-

* Fifteen thouſand Attic talents amount to about two millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. Thoſe of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were ſomething leſs.

cation of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negociating; concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to sollicit an accommodation. To succeed the better they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seised and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true (and they declared impudently that it was so) they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

[t] The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were

[t] A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Ibid. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxv. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

were appointed, by way of thankſgiving, for three days.

After this religious ſolemnity was over, the ſenate immediately gave audience, firſt to Eumenes, and afterwards the ambaſſadors. At this audience, one of the moſt important affairs that had ever been brought before the ſenate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Aſia, was to be conſidered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpreſſibly jealous of theirs. They conſidered it as an eſtate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their anceſtors; and as a peculiar privilege that diſtinguiſhed them from all other nations. And, indeed, the leaſt attention to the Grecian hiſtory will ſhow, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterpriſes and wars: and in a manner the ſoul of their laws, cuſtoms, and whole frame of government. Philip and Alexander his ſon, gave the firſt blows to it, and their ſucceſſors had exceedingly abridged, and almoſt extirpated it. The Romans had a little before reſtored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Aſia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the ſame indulgence. The Rhodians had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, principally to ſollicit that grace for the Greeks of Aſia; and it was immediately the intereſt of king Eumenes to oppoſe it. This is the ſubject on which the ſenate are now to debate, and of which the deciſion held all Europe and Aſia in ſuſpenſe.

Eumenes being firſt admitted to audience, he opened his ſpeech with a ſhort compliment to the ſenate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himſelf and his brother, when beſieged in Pergamus, (the capital of his kingdom) by Antiochus; and in ſecuring his kingdom againſt the unjuſt enterprizes of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy ſucceſs of their arms both

by ſea and land; and on the famous victory they had juſt before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Aſia ſituated on this ſide of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himſelf and the ſervice he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he choſe rather to have thoſe things related by their generals than by himſelf. The modeſty of his behaviour was univerſally applauded; but he was deſired to ſpecify the particulars in which the ſenate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to aſk of them; aſſuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompenſe was propoſed to him by others, and he were permitted to conſult the ſenate, he then would be ſo free as to aſk that venerable body what anſwer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not inſiſt upon immoderate and unreaſonable demands; but that, as it was from the ſenate that he expected to be gratified in all he ſhould require, he thought it moſt adviſeable to depend entirely on their generoſity. He was again deſired to explain himſelf clearly, and without ambiguity. In this mutual conteſt between politeneſs and reſpect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himſelf to be outdone, quitted the aſſembly. The ſenate ſtill perſiſted in their firſt reſolution: and the reaſon they gave for it was, that the king knew what it beſt ſuited his intereſt to aſk. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himſelf.

He then made the following ſpeech. "I ſhould "have ſtill continued ſilent, did I not know that the "Rhodian ambaſſadors, whom you will ſoon admit "to audience, will make ſuch demands as are directly "contrary to my intereſt. They will plead, in your "preſence, the cauſe of all the Grecian cities of Aſia, "and pretend that they all ought to be declared "free. Now, can it be doubted that their intention "in this is, to deprive me, not only of thoſe cities "which will be delivered, but even of ſuch as were "anciently

" anciently my tributaries; and that their view is,
" by ſo ſignal a ſervice, to ſubject them effectually
" to themſelves, under the ſpecious title of confede-
" rate cities? They will not fail to expatiate ſtrongly
" on their own diſintereſtedneſs; and to ſay, that
" they do not ſpeak for themſelves, but merely for
" your glory and reputation. You therefore will
" certainly not ſuffer yourſelves to be impoſed upon
" by ſuch diſcourſe; and are far from deſigning,
" either to diſcover an affected inequality towards
" your allies, by humbling ſome and raiſing others
" in an immoderate degree; or to allow better con-
" ditions to thoſe who carried arms againſt you, than
" to ſuch as have always been your friends and allies.
" With regard to my particular pretenſions, and my
" perſonal intereſt, theſe I can eaſily give up; but
" as to your kindneſs, and the marks of friendſhip
" with which you have been pleaſed to honour me, I
" muſt confeſs that I cannot, without pain, ſee
" others triumph over me in that particular. This
" is the moſt precious part of the inheritance I re-
" ceived from my father, who was the firſt potentate,
" in all Greece and Aſia, that had the advantage of
" concluding an alliance, and of joining in friend-
" ſhip with you; and who cultivated it with an in-
" violable conſtancy and fidelity to his lateſt breath.
" He was far from confining himſelf in thoſe points
" to mere proteſtations of kindneſs and good-will. In
" all the wars you made in Greece, whether by ſea
" or land, he conſtantly followed your ſtandards,
" and aided you with all his forces, with ſuch a zeal
" as none of your allies can boaſt. It may even be
" ſaid, that his attachment to your intereſt, in the
" laſt and ſtrongeſt proof he gave of his fidelity, was
" the cauſe of his death: For the fire and vigour
" with which he exhorted the Bœotians to engage
" in alliance with you, occaſioned the fatal accident
" that brought him to his end in a few days. I
" always thought it my duty to tread in his ſteps,
" firmly

" firmly perſuaded that nothing could be more honour-
" able. It indeed was not poſſible for me to exceed
" him in zeal and attachment for your ſervice: but
" then the poſture of affairs, and the war againſt An-
" tiochus, have furniſhed me more opportunities than
" my father had, of giving you proofs of this. That
" prince, who was very powerful in Europe as well as
" Aſia, offered me his daughter in marriage: he en-
" gaged himſelf to recover all thoſe cities which had
" revolted from me: He promiſed to add conſiderable
" countries to my dominions, upon condition that I
" ſhould join with him againſt you. I will not aſſume
" any honour to myſelf from not accepting offers
" which tended to alienate me from your friendſhip;
" and indeed, how would it have been poſſible for me
" to do this? I will only take notice of what I thought
" myſelf bound to do in your favour, as one who was
" your ancient friend and ally. I aſſiſted your ge-
" nerals both by ſea and land, with a far greater num-
" ber of troops, as well as a much larger quantity of
" proviſions, than any of your allies: I was preſent
" in all your naval engagements, and theſe were many;
" and have ſpared myſelf no toils nor dangers. I
" ſuffered the hardſhips of a ſiege, (the moſt grievous
" condition of war) and was blocked up in Pergamus,
" expoſed every moment to the loſs of my crown and
" life. Having diſengaged myſelf from this ſiege,
" whilſt Antiochus on one ſide, and Seleucus his
" ſon on the other, were ſtill encamped in my do-
" minions; neglecting entirely my own intereſt, I
" ſailed with my whole fleet to the Helleſpont, to
" meet Scipio your conſul, purpoſely to aſſiſt him in
" paſſing it. I never quitted the conſul from his
" arrival in Aſia: not a ſoldier in your camp has
" exerted himſelf more than my brother and myſelf.
" I have been preſent in every action, whether of foot
" or horſe. In the laſt engagement, I defended the
" poſt which the conſul aſſigned me. I will not aſk

" whether,

" whether, in this particular, any of your allies de-
" ſerve to be compared with me. One thing I will
" be ſo confident as to aſſert, that I may put myſelf
" in parallel with any of thoſe kings or ſtates, on
" whom you have beſtowed the higheſt marks of your
" favour. Maſiniſſa had been your enemy before he
" became your ally. He did not come over to you
" with powerful aids, and, at a time when he en-
" joyed the full poſſeſſion of his kingdom; but an
" exile, driven from his kingdom; plundered of all
" his poſſeſſions, and deprived of all his forces, he fled
" to your camp, with a ſquadron of horſe, in order
" to ſeek an aſylum as well as aid in his misfortunes.
" Nevertheleſs, becauſe he has ſince ſerved you faith-
" fully againſt Syphax and the Carthaginians, you
" have not only reſtored him to the throne of his an-
" ceſtors; but, by beſtowing on him great part of
" Syphax's kingdom, you have made him one of
" the moſt powerful monarchs of Africa. What
" therefore may we not expect from your liberality,
" we, who have ever been your allies, and never
" your enemies? My father, my brothers, and my-
" ſelf, have, on all occaſions, drawn our ſwords in
" your cauſe, both by ſea and land; not only in Aſia,
" but at a great diſtance from our native country, in
" Peloponneſus, Bœotia, and Ætolia, during the wars
" againſt Philip, Antiochus, and the Ætolians.
" Perhaps ſome one may aſk, what are your pre-
" tenſions? Since you force me to explain myſelf,
" they are as follow. If, in repulſing Antiochus be-
" yond mount Taurus, your intention was to ſeiſe
" upon that country, in order to unite it to your
" empire, I could not wiſh for better neighbours,
" none being more able to ſecure my dominions.
" But if you are reſolved to reſign it, and to recall
" your armies from thence, I dare preſume to ſay,
" that none of your allies deſerve advantages from
" you better than myſelf. Yet (ſome may obſerve)
" it is great and glorious to deliver cities from ſlavery,

" and

" and to reſtore them their liberty. I grant it, pro-
" vided they had never exerciſed hoſtilities againſt you.
" But then, if they have been ſo far attached to An-
" tiochus's intereſt, will it not be much more worthy
" of your wiſdom and juſtice, to beſtow your favours
" on allies, who have ſerved you faithfully, than on
" enemies who have uſed their endeavours to deſtroy
" you?"

The ſenate were exceedingly pleaſed with the king's harangue; and ſhowed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The perſon who ſpoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the ſervices they had done them, firſt in the war againſt Philip, and afterwards in that againſt Antiochus: " Nothing, ſays he (directing himſelf to the
" ſenators) grieves us ſo much at this time, as to find
" ourſelves obliged to engage in a diſpute with
" Eumenes, that prince, for whom, of all princes,
" both our republic and ourſelves have the moſt
" faithful and moſt cordial reſpect. The circum-
" ſtance which divides and ſeparates us on this occa-
" ſion, does not proceed from a diſparity of minds,
" but from a difference of conditions. We are free,
" and Eumenes is a king. It is natural that we,
" being a free people, ſhould plead for the liberty of
" others; and that kings ſhould endeavour to make
" all things pay homage to their ſovereign ſway.
" However this be, the circumſtance which perplexes
" us on this occaſion, is not ſo much the affair in
" itſelf, which ſeems to be of ſuch a nature, that
" you cannot be very much divided in opinion about
" it, as the regard we ought to ſhow to ſo auguſt a
" prince as Eumenes. If there was no other way of
" acknowledging the important ſervices of a king,
" your confederate and ally, but in ſubjecting free
" cities to his power, you then might be doubtful;

" from

" from the fear you might be under, either of not " diſcovering gratitude enough towards a prince who " is your friend; or of renouncing your principles, " and the glory you have acquired in the war againſt " Philip, by reſtoring all the Grecian cities to their " liberty. But fortune has put you in ſuch a condi- " tion, as not to fear either of thoſe inconveniences. " The immortal gods be praiſed, the victory you " have ſo lately gained, by which you acquire no " leſs riches than glory, enables you to acquit your- " ſelves eaſily of what you call a debt. Lycaonia, " the two Phrygias, all Piſidia, Cherſoneſus, and " the country contiguous to it, are ſubjected by you. " One of theſe provinces is alone capable of enlarg- " ing conſiderably the dominions of Eumenes; but " all of them together will equal him to the moſt " powerful kings. You therefore may, at one and " the ſame time, recompenſe very largely your al- " lies, and not depart from the maxims which form " the glory of your empire. The ſame motive " prompted you to march againſt Philip and Antio- " chus. As the cauſe is the ſame, the like iſſue is " expected; not only becauſe you yourſelves have " already ſet the example, but becauſe your honour " requires it. Others engage in war, merely to diſ- " poſſeſs their neighbours of ſome country, ſome " city, fortreſs, or ſea-port; but you, O Romans, " never draw the ſword from ſuch motives; when " you fight, it is for glory; and it is this circum- " ſtance inſpires all nations with a reverence and awe " for your name and empire, almoſt equal to that " which is paid the gods. The buſineſs is to preſerve " that glory. You have undertaken to reſcue, from " the bondage of kings, and to reſtore to its ancient " liberty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and ſtill " more renowned for its glorious actions, and its exqui- " ſite taſte for the polite arts and ſciences. It is the " whole nation you have taken under your protection, " and you have promiſed it them to the end of time.

" The cities, ſituated in Greece itſelf, are not more " Grecian than the colonies they ſettled in Aſia. A " change of country has not wrought any alteration in " our origin or manners. All the Greek cities in " Aſia have endeavoured to rival our anceſtors and " founders, in virtue and in knowledge. Many per- " ſons in this aſſembly have ſeen the cities of Greece " and thoſe of Aſia: the only difference is, that we " are ſituated at a farther diſtance from Rome. If a " difference in climate ſhould change the nature and " diſpoſition of men, the inhabitants of Marſeilles, " ſurrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous " nations, ſhould neceſſarily have long ſince degene- " rated; and yet we are informed that you have as " great a regard for them, as if they lived in the centre " of Greece. And indeed, they have retained, not " only the ſound of the language, the dreſs, and the " whole exterior of the Greeks; but have alſo pre- " ſerved ſtill more their manners, laws, and genius, " and all theſe pure and uncorrupted, by their correſ- " pondence with the neighbouring nations. Mount " Taurus is now the boundary of your empire. Every " country on this ſide of it, ought not to appear re- " mote from you. Wherever you have carried your " arms, convey thither alſo the genius and form of " your government. Let the Barbarians, who are ac- " cuſtomed to ſlavery, continue under the empire of " kings, ſince it is grateful to them. The Greeks, in " the mediocrity of their preſent condition, think it " glorious to imitatate your exalted ſentiments. Born " and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not " deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you " yourſelves are ſo. Formerly, their own ſtrength " was ſufficient to ſecure empire to them; but now, " they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for " ever by thoſe people, with whom they have placed " it. All they deſire is, that you would be pleaſed to " protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties,

" as

" as they are now no longer able to defend them by " their own. But, says somebody, some of those cities " have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others " favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus? " To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as " well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Con- " sider, O Romans, the engagements which this ex- " ample lays you under. Will you indulge to Eu- " menes's ambition (I beg his pardon for the expres- " sion) what you refused to your own just indignation? " As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the " wars which you have carried on in our countries, " we have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful " allies; and you are to judge whether we have really " been such. Now we enjoy peace, we are so free as " to give you a counsel which must necessarily be glo- " rious to you. If you follow it, it will demonstrate " to the universe, that however nobly you obtain " victories, you yet know how to make a nobler use " of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself on this occasion divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible, but which, at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude, with regard to the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds: on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought, that the sole view of their undertaking this war was to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the

Romans

Romans to bring over other kings to their ſide by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wiſdom of the ſenate knew how to conciliate theſe different duties.

Antiochus's ambaſſadors were brought in after thoſe of Rhodes, and all they requeſted of the ſenate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their deſire, and accordingly, ſome days after, it alſo was ratified in the aſſembly of the people.

The ambaſſadors of the Aſiatic cities were likewiſe heard, and the anſwer made them was, that the ſenate would diſpatch, purſuant to their uſual cuſtom, ten commiſſioners to inquire into, and ſettle the affairs of Aſia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Myſia, ſhould thenceforward be ſubject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the poſſeſſion of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies neareſt to Rhodes, and part of Piſidia. In both theſe diſtributions, ſuch cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought againſt Antiochus. It was enacted, that the reſt of the cities of Aſia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, ſhould alſo pay it to Eumenes; and that ſuch as had been tributaries to Antiochus, ſhould be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians ſeemed very well ſatisfied with this new regulation. The latter requeſted as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, deſcended originally, as well as themſelves, from the people of Argos, might be reſtored to their liberty. The ſenate, after conſulting Antiochus's ambaſſadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent oppoſition which thoſe ambaſſadors had made to their requeſt; becauſe Soles, as ſituated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning

returning the moſt hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchſafed them, anſwered that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly ſatisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at ſea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and ſtill more juſtly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in perſon. He aſſumed the ſurname of Aſiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to thoſe of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war againſt Antiochus, which was not of long duration, coſt the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the ſame time, this victory contributed alſo, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taſte and love for luxury and effeminate pleaſures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conqueſt of Aſia, that [u] Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which enſued it. Aſia,* vanquiſhed by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquiſhed Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguiſhed in that city a love for the ancient poverty and ſimplicity, in which its ſtrength and honour had conſiſted. † Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the ſuperb ſpoils of Aſia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater

[u] Plin. l. xiii. c. 3.

* *Armis vicit, vitiis victus eſt.* SENEC. de Alex.

† *Prima peregrinos obſcœna pecunia mores*
Intulit, & turpi fregerunt ſecula luxu
Divitiæ molles——
Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit——
Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.
JUVEN. Lib. ii. Satyr. vi.

greater havoc in the cities than the mightieſt armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

Reflections on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian ſtates, and the kings both of Europe and Aſia.

THE reader begins to diſcover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteriſtics of the Romans, which will ſoon determine the fate of all the ſtates of Greece, and produce an almoſt general change in the univerſe, I mean, a ſpirit of ſovereignty and dominion. This characteriſtic does not diſplay itſelf at firſt in its full extent; it reveals itſelf only by degrees; and it is but by inſenſible progreſſions, which at the ſame time are rapid enough, that we ſee it carried at laſt to its greateſt height.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this people, on certain occaſions, ſhow ſuch a moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, as (to conſider them only from their outſide) exceed every thing we meet with in hiſtory, and to which it ſeems inconſiſtent to refuſe praiſe. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after croſſing ſeas, and exhauſting their treaſures; cauſed a herald to proclaim, in a general aſſembly, that the Roman people reſtored all the cities to their liberty; and deſired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleaſure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whoſe ancient glory ſufficed to endear them to the Romans? The deſcription of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthuſiaſm of eſteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian ſtates proceeded merely from a principle of generoſity, void of all intereſted motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of

of the Romans been of the ſame nature with ſuch exalted ſentiments; nothing could poſſibly have been more auguſt, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But, if we penetrate ever ſo little beyond this glaring outſide, we ſoon perceive, that this ſpecious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy: wiſe indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but at the ſame time, very remote from that noble diſintereſtedneſs, ſo highly extolled on the preſent occaſion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themſelves to a ſtupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, becauſe the Romans declared them ſo.

Greece, in the times I am now ſpeaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former to preſerve the remains of their ancient liberty; and the latter to complete their ſubjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this ſtate of Greece, were ſenſible, that they needed not be under any apprehenſions from thoſe little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, by inteſtine feuds, mutual jealouſies, and the wars they had been forced to ſupport againſt foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was poſſeſſed of well-diſciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conqueſts to the extremities of the globe; which ſtill harboured an ardent, though chimerical deſire of attaining univerſal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, ſprung from the ſame origin, and united by the common intereſts of monarchy; Macedonia, I ſay, gave juſt alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obſtacles left with regard to their ambitious deſigns, but thoſe powerful kingdoms that ſhared the reſt of the world between them, and eſpecially Macedonia, as it lay neareſt to Italy.

To balance therefore the power of Macedon, and to diſpoſſeſs Philip of the aids he flattered himſelf he ſhould receive from the Greeks, which indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppoſe this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I ſay, this latter people declared loudly in favour of thoſe republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other deſign, in outward appearance, than to defend them againſt their oppreſſors; and further to attach them by a ſtill ſtronger tie, they hung out to them a ſpecious bait, (as a reward for their fidelity) I mean liberty, of which all the republics in queſtion were inexpreſſibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually diſputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and ſwallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whoſe views penetrated no farther. But the moſt judicious and moſt clear-ſighted among them diſcovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time in their public aſſemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the Weſt; and which, changing on a ſudden into a dreadful tempeſt, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter deſtruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmoſt moderation towards ſuch ſtates and nations as addreſſed them for protection; they ſuccoured them againſt their enemies; took the utmoſt pains in terminating their differences, and in ſuppreſſing all troubles which aroſe amongſt them; and did not demand the leaſt recompenſe for all theſe ſervices done their allies. By this means their authority gained ſtrength daily, and prepared the nations for entire ſubjection.

And

And indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their intereſts, and of reconciling them, they rendered themſelves the ſovereign arbiters of thoſe whom they had reſtored to liberty; and whom they now conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as their freedmen. They uſed to depute commiſſioners to them, to inquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reaſons on both ſides, and to decide their quarrels: but when the articles were of ſuch a nature, that there was no poſſibility of reconciling them on the ſpot, they invited them to ſend their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they uſed to ſummon thoſe who refuſed to be reconciled; obliged them to plead their cauſe before the ſenate, and even to appear in perſon there. From arbiters and mediators being become ſupreme judges, they ſoon aſſumed a magiſterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable deciſions, were greatly offended when the moſt implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a ſecond reſiſtance: thus there aroſe, in the Roman ſenate, a tribunal which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and puniſhments due to all parties. They diſpoſſeſſed the vanquiſhed nations of part of their territories, in order to beſtow them on their allies, by which they did two things from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the intereſt of Rome, ſuch kings as were no ways formidable to them; and weakened others, whoſe friendſhip the Romans could not expect, and whoſe arms they had reaſon to dread.

We ſhall hear one of the chief magiſtrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh ſtrongly in a public aſſembly againſt this unjuſt uſurpation, and aſk by what title the Romans are empowered to aſſume ſo haughty an aſcendant over them; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the

the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleaſed, ſhould the Achæans, in their turn, officiouſly pretend to inquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the ſame foot on both ſides? All theſe reflections were very reaſonable, juſt, and unanſwerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the queſtion but force.

They acted in the ſame manner, and their politics were the ſame, with regard to their treatment of kings. They firſt won over to their intereſt ſuch among them as were the weakeſt, and conſequently the leaſt formidable: they gave them the title of allies, whereby their perſons were rendered in ſome meaſure ſacred and inviolable; and was a kind of ſafeguard againſt other kings more powerful than themſelves: they increaſed their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them ſee what they might expect from their protection. It was this raiſed the kingdom of Pergamus to ſo exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, thoſe great potentates, who divided Europe and Aſia. And how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his anſwer before he quitted it: how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquiſhed kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hoſtages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance without firſt obtaining their leave; baniſh them to the other ſide of the mountains; and leave them, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, only an empty title, and a vain ſhadow of royalty, diveſted of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that Providence had decreed to the Romans the ſovereignty of the world, and the ſcriptures had propheſied their future grandeur: But,

But they were ſtrangers to thoſe divine oracles; and beſides, the bare prediction of their conqueſts was no juſtification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and ſtill more ſo to prove, that this people had, from their firſt riſe, formed a plan, in order to conquer and ſubject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a fore-knowledge of this; and that a kind of inſtinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we ſee, by the event, to what this ſo-much boaſted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmoſt contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole univerſe as their prey, they graſped, with inſatiable ambition, the conqueſt of the whole world: They ſeiſed indiſcriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations: in a word, they preſcribed no other limits to their vaſt projects, but thoſe which deſerts and ſeas made it impoſſible to paſs.

SECT. VIII. *Fulvius the conſul ſubdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other conſul, conquers the Aſiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophecy concerning Antiochus.*

[x] DURING the expedition of the Romans in Aſia, ſome emotions had happened in Greece. Amynander, by the aid of the Ætolians, was reſtored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garriſons that held them for king Philip. He deputed ſome ambaſſadors to the ſenate of Rome;

[x] A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1—11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26—28.

Rome; and others into Aſia to the two Scipios, who were then at Epheſus, after their ſignal victory over Antiochus, to excuſe his having employed the arms of the Ætolians againſt Philip, and alſo to make his complaints of that prince.

The Ætolians had likewiſe undertaken ſome enterpriſes, againſt Philip, in which they had met with tolerable ſucceſs: but, when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambaſſadors they had ſent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the conſul was actually marching againſt them, they were ſeiſed with real alarms. Finding it would be impoſſible for them to reſiſt the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourſe to intreaties; and, in order to inforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambaſſadors to thoſe whom they were going to ſend to Rome, in order to ſue for peace.

The conſul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid ſiege to Ambracia, in which was a ſtrong garriſon of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at laſt perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to hold out long againſt the Roman arms, they ſent new ambaſſadors to the conſul, inveſting them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Thoſe which were propoſed to them being judged exceedingly ſevere, the ambaſſadors, notwithſtanding their full powers, deſired that leave might be granted them to conſult the aſſembly once more; but the members of it were diſpleaſed with them for it, and therefore ſent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambaſſadors, whom the ſenate had ſent back to the conſul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had alſo repaired. The latter having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had ſpent many years of his baniſhment,

baniſhment, prevailed with the inhabitants to ſurrender themſelves at laſt to the conſul. A peace was alſo granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follow: they ſhould firſt deliver up their arms and horſes to the Romans: Should pay them one thouſand talents of ſilver (about an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds) half to be paid down directly: ſhould reſtore to both the Romans, and their allies, all the deſerters and priſoners: ſhould look upon, as their enemies and friends, all thoſe who were ſuch to the Romans: In fine, ſhould give up forty hoſtages, to be choſen by the conſul. Their ambaſſadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exaſperated againſt the Ætolians, as well on account of their paſt conduct, as the complaints made againſt them by Philip in his letters written on that head. At laſt, however, the ſenate were moved by their entreaties, and thoſe of the ambaſſadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the conſul had preſcribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the ſum impoſed on them, in ſuch a manner, that every piece of gold ſhould be eſtimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of ſilver of the ſame weight, which ſhows the proportion between gold and ſilver at that time.

[y] Fulvius the conſul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, croſſed into the iſland of Cephalenia, in order to ſubdue it. All the cities, at the firſt ſummons, ſurrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after ſubmitting to the conqueror, were ſorry for what they had done, and accordingly ſhut their gates againſt the Romans, which obliged them to beſiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, inſomuch that it was four months before the conſul could take it.

From

y Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 28—30.

From thence he went to Peloponneſus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general aſſembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium: But Philopœmen, who then was an officer of ſtate, reſolved to change that cuſtom, and to cauſe the aſſembly to be held ſucceſſively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and that very year he ſummoned it to Argos. The conſul would not oppoſe this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, becauſe he thought their cauſe the moſt juſt; yet, ſeeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the aſſembly, without declaring his opinion.

[z] But the affair relating to Sparta was ſtill more intricate, and, at the ſame time, of greater importance. Thoſe who had been baniſhed from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themſelves in towns and caſtles along the coaſt, and from thence infeſted the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of thoſe towns, called Las, and carried it, but were ſoon after driven out of it. This enterpriſe alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourſe to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in employment, ſecretly favoured the exiles: and endeavoured on all occaſions, to leſſen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and caſtles of the ſea-coaſt of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbid the Lacedæmonians acceſs to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed ſome of the inhabitants; the Achæan aſſembly demanded that the contrivers of that maſſacre ſhould be delivered up to them; and that otherwiſe they ſhould be declared violators of the

[z] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 30—34.

the treaty. Ambaſſadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in ſo haughty a tone, exceedingly exaſperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of thoſe who had held a correſpondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; diſſolved their alliance with the Achæans; and ſent ambaſſadors to Fulvius the conſul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to intreat him to come and take poſſeſſion of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been tranſacted in Sparta, they unanimouſly declared war againſt that city, which began by ſome ſlight incurſions both by ſea and land; the ſeaſon being too far advanced for undertaking any thing conſiderable.

The conſul, being arrived in Peloponneſus, heard both parties in a public aſſembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both ſides. Without coming to any determination, the firſt thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to ſend their reſpective ambaſſadors to Rome; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great conſideration at Rome, but, at the ſame time, the Romans did not care to diſguſt the Lacedæmonians entirely. The ſenate therefore returned an obſcure and ambiguous anſwer (which has not come down to us) whereby the Achæans might flatter themſelves, that they were allowed full power to infeſt Sparta; and the Spartans, that ſuch power was very much limited and reſtrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of firſt magiſtrate. He marched the army to a ſmall diſtance from Sparta without loſs of time; and again demanded to have thoſe perſons ſurrendered to him, who had concerted the enterpriſe againſt the town of Las; declaring that they ſhould not be condemned or puniſhed till after being heard. Upon this promiſe, thoſe

thoſe who had been nominated expreſsly ſet out, accompanied by ſeveral of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, who looked upon their cauſe as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an inſulting air, and began to vent the moſt injurious expreſſions againſt them; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiouſly. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations: the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the ſeditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithſtanding the protection due to ambaſſadors, and in ſpite of the prohibition of the ſupreme magiſtrate. Seventeen were immediately ſtoned to death, and ſeventy-three reſcued by the magiſtrate out of the hands of thoſe furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it ſaid, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almoſt without ſo much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that ſo unjuſt, ſo cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepeſt affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans impoſed the ſame conditions on them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by ſtorm. They gave orders that the walls ſhould be demoliſhed; that all ſuch mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their ſervice, ſhould leave Laconia; that the ſlaves whom thoſe tyrants had ſet at liberty (and there were a great number of them) ſhould alſo be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being ſeiſed by the Achæans, and ſold or carried whereſoever they thought proper; that the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus ſhould be annulled

nulled. In fine, that the Spartans ſhould be aſſociated in the Achæan league, with whom they ſhould thenceforth form but one body, and follow the ſame cuſtoms and uſages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders preſcribed them: and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. * Sparta had long ſubſiſted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. [a] Pauſanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Phyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates alſo, that the tyrants, for their own ſecurity, had fortified with walls, all ſuch parts of the city as were moſt open and acceſſible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of theſe walls. But it was with inexpreſſible regret they ſaw the exiles, who had cauſed its deſtruction, returning into it, and who might juſtly be conſidered as its moſt cruel enemies. Sparta enervated by this laſt blow, loſt all its priſtine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and ſubjected to, the Achæans. ‡ The moſt fatal circumſtance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force ſeven hundred years, and had been the ſource of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of ſo renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary,

[a] In Achaiac. p. 412.

* *Fuerat quondam ſine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planiſque objecerant murum: altiora loca & difficiliora aditu ſtationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur.* Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam ſemper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra reſponſa fatorum & veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffiſi, murorum præſidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneraviſſe à majoribus, ut cùm multis ſeculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives ſalvos ſe fore non exiſtimaverint, niſi intra muros laterant. Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† Juſtin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls, at the time that Caſſander meditated the invaſion of Greece.

‡ *Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam diſciplina Lycurgi, cui per ſeptingentos annos aſſueverant, ſublata.* Liv.

ſeems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who juſtly ranks him among the greateſt captains of Greece, does but juſt glance at this action, and ſays only a word or two of it. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the cauſe of the exiles was favourable in itſelf. They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but ſo open a violation of the law of nations (to which Philopœmen gave at leaſt occaſion, if he did not conſent to it) cannot be excuſed in any manner.

[b] It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome againſt Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjuſt and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and inſulted its majeſty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. [c] At laſt, Lepidus the conſul wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans ſent an ambaſſador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to juſtify their conduct.

[d] In the ſame campaign, and almoſt at the ſame time that Fulvius the conſul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other conſul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elſewhere of the inroad thoſe nations had made into different countries of Europe and Aſia under Brennus. The Gauls in queſtion had ſettled in that part of Aſia Minor, called, from their name, Gallo Græcia, or Gallatia: and formed three bodies, three different ſtates, the Toliſtobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectoſages. Theſe had made themſelves formidable to all the nations round, and ſpread terror and alarms on all ſides. The pretence made uſe of for declaring war againſt them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had reſigned the command

[b] Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii.
[c] A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.
[d] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12—27. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

command of his army to Manlius, the latter ſet out from Epheſus, and marched againſt the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great ſervice to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus ſupplied his place, and was the conſul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had ſubdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the leaſt oppoſition. Manlius judged that it would be neceſſary to harangue his forces on this occaſion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no "ways ſurpriſed, (ſays he) that the Gauls ſhould "have made their names formidable to and ſpread "the ſtrongeſt terror in the minds of nations, of ſo "ſoft and effeminate a caſt as the Aſiatics. Their "tall ſtature, their fair, flowing hair, which de"ſcends to their waiſts; their unwieldy bucklers, "their long ſwords: Add to this, their ſongs, their "cries, and howlings, at the firſt onſet; the dreadful "claſhing of their arms and ſhields; all this may, "indeed, intimidate men not accuſtomed to them, "but not you, O Romans, whoſe victorious arms "have ſo often triumphed over that nation. Beſides, "experience has taught you, that after the Gauls "have ſpent their firſt fire, an obſtinate reſiſtance "blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their "bodily ſtrength; and that then, quite incapable of "ſupporting the heat of the ſun, fatigue, duſt, and "thirſt, their arms fall from their hands, and they ſink "down quite tired and exhauſted. Do not imagine "theſe the ancient Gauls, inured to fatigues and dan"gers. The luxurious plenty of the country they "have invaded, the ſoft temperature of the air they "breathe, the effeminacy and delicacy of the people "among whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated "them. They now are no more than Phrygians, in "Gallic armour; and the only circumſtance I fear is, "that you will not reap much honour by the defeat of "a rabble of enemies, ſo unworthy of diſputing vic"tory with Romans."

It was a general opinion with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a ſure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhauſt their firſt fire, which immediately was deadened by oppoſition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had loſt all ſtrength and vigour: that their bodies were even incapable of ſuſtaining the ſlighteſt fatigues long, or of withſtanding the ſun-beams, when they darted with ever ſo little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were leſs than women at the concluſion of it. [d] *Gallos primo impetu feroces eſſe, quos ſuſtinere ſatis ſit——Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantiſſima laboris atque æſtus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quàm virorum, poſtrema minùs quàm feminarum eſſe.*

Thoſe who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the ſame idea of them. However, the late tranſactions in Italy, and eſpecially on the Rhine, muſt have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I queſtion whether they ever diſcovered greater patience, reſolution, and bravery, than the French did at the ſiege of Philipſburgh. I do not ſpeak merely of the generals and officers; courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them: but even the common ſoldiers ſhowed ſuch an ardour, intrepidity, and greatneſs of ſoul, as amazed the generals. The ſight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and ſtill more ſo by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, ſerved only to animate them the more. During the whole courſe of this long and laborious ſiege, in which they ſuffered ſo much by the fire of the beſieged, and the heat of the ſun; by the violence of the rains and inundations of the Rhine; they never once breathed the leaſt murmur or complaint. They were ſeen wading through great floods, where they were up to the ſhoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and

[d] Liv. l. x. n. 28.

and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumstance, but their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery, and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have rouzed at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years' peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

The KING'S Letter to the Marshal D'ASFELDT.

COUSIN,

"I am entirely sensible of the important service you have done me in taking Philipsburgh. Nothing less than your courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to that enterprise, occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that siege, and always observed, that the ardour and patience of my troops increased in proportion to the difficulties that arose either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation:

tion: and I enjoin you to inform the general officers and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly ſatisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the ſame ſentiments with regard to you; to aſſure you of which is the ſole motive of this letter; and (Couſin) I beſeech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you."

Verſailles, July 23, 1734.

I now return to the hiſtory. After Manlius had ended the ſpeech repeated above, the army diſcovered by their ſhouts, how impatiently they deſired to be led againſt the enemy; and accordingly the conſul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once ſuſpect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay ſo remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppoſe them. But notwithſtanding this, they made a long and vigorous reſiſtance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; diſputed the paſſes with him; ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and retired to ſuch eminences as they thought inacceſſible. However, the conſul, ſo far from being diſcouraged, followed; and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them ſeparately, ſtormed their cities, and defeated them in ſeveral engagements. I ſhall not deſcend to particulars, which were of little importance, and conſequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at laſt to ſubmit, and to confine themſelves within the limits preſcribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from thoſe Barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but haraſs and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was reſtored on this ſide, that the empire of the Romans was eſtabliſhed there from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Aſia Minor. [e] We are told that * Antiochus ſaid, on this occaſion, that he was highly

[e] Cic. Orat. pro Dejot. n. 36. Vel. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

* *Antiochus magnus—dicere eſt ſolitus, benignè ſibi à populo Romano eſſe factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur.* Cic.

highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of ſo vaſt an extent of country muſt neceſſarily have brought upon him.

[f] Fulvius, one of the conſuls, returned to Rome, in order to preſide in the aſſembly. The conſulate was given to M. Valerius Meſſala, and C. Livius Salinator. The inſtant the aſſembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himſelf and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconſuls.

Manlius had repaired to Epheſus, to ſettle, with the ten commiſſioners who had been appointed by the ſenate, the moſt important articles of their commiſſion. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as alſo that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been ſentenced to pay the Romans ſix hundred talents (ſix hundred thouſand crowns) for having aſſiſted Antiochus; however, half this ſum was accepted at the requeſt of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a preſent to Eumenes, of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repaſſed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the ſeveral cities to audience, and ſettled the chief difficulties.

[g] Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raiſe the ſum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progreſs through the eaſtern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his abſence, to Seleucus his ſon, whom he had declared his preſumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very conſiderable treaſure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a ſtrong temp-

[f] A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.
[g] A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 298. Juſtin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Hiron. in Dan. cap. xi.

temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a falſe pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled againſt him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiouſly during a long ſeries of years. However, the people, exaſperated by this ſacrilege, rebelled againſt him, and murthered him with all his followers. [h] Aurelius Victor ſays, that he was killed by ſome of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praiſe for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his ſubjects permiſſion, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in caſe they ſhould be found to interfere with the laws, ſhows that he had a high regard for juſtice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved, on all occaſions, with ſuch bravery, prudence, and application, as had given ſucceſs to all his enterpriſes, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time his wiſdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war againſt the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for, the wiſe counſels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept: theſe circumſtances ſullied the glory of his former ſucceſſes; and his death, occaſioned by a wicked and ſacrilegious enterpriſe, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verſe, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accompliſhed.

[i] "But his ſons (of the king of the north) ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall aſſemble a multitude of great forces: And one (Antiochus the Great) ſhall certainly come and overflow, and paſs through: then ſhall he return,

[h] De viris illuſt cap. liv. [i] Ver. 10.

turn, and be ſtirred up even to his fortreſs." [k] This king of the North was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two ſons, Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus, afterwards ſurnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was ſucceeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war againſt Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is, of Egypt; diſpoſſeſſed him of Cœloſyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow paſſes near Berytus, and made himſelf maſter of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuſe him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is ſtill more expreſſive. "He (meaning Antiochus) ſhall come. He ſhall overflow the enemy's country. He ſhall paſs over mount Libanus. He ſhall halt, whilſt overtures of peace are making him. He ſhall advance with ardour as far as the fortreſſes," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verſes.

[l] "And the king of the South ſhall be moved with choler, and ſhall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the North: and he ſhall ſet forth a great multitude, but the multitude ſhall be given into his hand." Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was neceſſary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms and repulſe the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *provocatus*. At laſt he put himſelf at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a ſignal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

[m] "And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart ſhall be lifted up, and he ſhall caſt down many ten thouſands; but he ſhall not be ſtrengthened by it." Antiochus loſt upwards of ten thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and four thouſand of his men were taken priſoners. Philopator, having marched after

[k] See ver. 8. [l] Ver. 11. [m] Ver. 12.

his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary, "his heart shall be lifted up;" and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; "but he shall not be strengthened by it.

[q] "For the king of the North shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army, and with much riches." Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

[r] "And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South." This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt: by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency: and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. *"Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall." Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was not long-lived; for

[q] Ver. 13. [r] Ver. 14.

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

for when Antiochus regained poſſeſſion of Judea and Jeruſalem, he either extirpated, or drove out of the country all the partiſans of Ptolemy. This ſubjection of the Jews to the ſovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accompliſhment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, ſon of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occaſioned a great number of them to "fall" into apoſtacy.

[s] "So the king of the North ſhall come, and caſt up a mount, and take the moſt fenced cities, and the arms of the South ſhall not withſtand, neither his choſen people, neither ſhall there be any ſtrength to withſtand. [t] But he that cometh againſt him, ſhall do according to his own will, and none ſhall ſtand before him: And he ſhall ſtand in the glorious land which by his hand ſhall be conſumed." Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, beſieged and took, firſt Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of thoſe provinces, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the choſen troops which the king of Egypt had ſent againſt him. "He did according to his own will," in Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, and nothing was able to make the leaſt reſiſtance againſt him. Purſuing his conqueſts in Paleſtine, he entered Judea, "that glorious," or, according to the Hebrew, "that deſirable land." He there eſtabliſhed his authority; and ſtrengthened it, by repulſing from the caſtle of Jeruſalem the garriſon which Scopas had thrown into it. This garriſon being ſo well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to ſend for all his troops in order to force it; and the ſiege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and "conſumed" by the ſtay the army was obliged to make in it.

[u] "He ſhall alſo ſet his face to enter with the ſtrength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus ſhall he do, and he ſhall give him the daughter of women

[s] Ver. 15. [t] Ver. 16. [u] Ver. 17.

men, corrupting her: But ſhe ſhall not ſtand on his ſide, neither be for him." Antiochus, ſeeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would beſt ſuit his intereſt to lull the king aſleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to "corrupt her," and excite her to betray her huſband: but he was not ſucceſsful in his deſign; for as ſoon as ſhe was married to Ptolemy, ſhe renounced her father's intereſts, and embraced thoſe of her huſband. It was on this account that we ſee her *join with him in the embaſſy which was ſent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

[x] "After this he ſhall turn his face unto the iſles, and ſhall take many: But a prince for his own behalf ſhall cauſe the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to ceaſe; without his own reproach he ſhall cauſe it to turn upon him." Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, ſent his two ſons, at the head of the land-army to Sardis, whilſt himſelf embarked on board the fleet, and ſailed to the Ægean ſea, where he took ſeveral iſlands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that ſide. However, "the prince" of the people, whom he had inſulted by making this invaſion, that is, L. Scipio the Roman conſul, "cauſed the reproach to turn upon him;" by defeating him at mount Sipilus and repulſing him from every part of Aſia Minor.

[y] "Then he ſhall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he ſhall ſtumble and fall, and not be found." Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in it. He went ſoon after into the provinces of the Eaſt, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having

[x] Ver. 18. [y] Ver. 19.

* *Legati ab Ptolemæo & Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quòd Manius Acilius conſul Antiochum regem Græciæ expuliſſet venerunt.* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 3.

having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there loſt his life in a miſerable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in moſt places, according to the Hebrew text. I confeſs there may be ſome doubtful and obſcure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variouſly interpreted by commentators; but is it poſſible for the ſubſtance of the prophecy to appear obſcure and doubtful? Can any reaſonable man, who makes uſe of his underſtanding, aſcribe ſuch a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and ſagacity? Can any light, but which proceeds from GOD himſelf, penetrate, in this manner, into the darkneſs of futurity, and point out the events of it in ſo exact and circumſtantial a manner? Not to mention what is here ſaid concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldeſt reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngeſt is Antiochus, furnamed the Great, from his great actions; and accordingly our prophet gives a tranſient account of the principal circumſtances of his life, his moſt important enterpriſes, and even the manner of his death. In it we ſee his expeditions into Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, ſeveral cities of which are beſieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jeruſalem, which is laid waſte by the ſtay his troops make in it; his conqueſts of a great many iſlands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not anſwer the deſign he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman conſul, his retreat to Antioch, and, laſtly, his unfortunate end. Theſe are, in a manner, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to reſemble none but himſelf. Is it to be ſuppoſed that the prophet drew thoſe features without deſign and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accompliſhment of the pro-

phecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in queſtion, and whoſe fidelity cannot be ſuſpected in any manner. We muſt renounce, not only religion, but reaſon, to refuſe to acknowledge, in ſuch prophecies as theſe, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are preſent, and who governs the world with abſolute power.

SECT. IX. *Seleucus Philopator ſucceeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt. Various embaſſies ſent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made againſt Philip. Commiſſioners are ſent from Rome to inquire into thoſe complaints; and at the ſame time to examine concerning the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair.*

[a] ANTIOCHUS the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator, his eldeſt ſon, whom he had left in Antioch when he ſet out for the eaſtern provinces, ſucceeded him. But his reign was obſcure and contemptible, occaſioned by the miſery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant * ſum (a thouſand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

[b] Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his acceſſion to the throne, he had ſent an ambaſſador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly ſent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the hiſtorian, and two other ambaſſadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen,

[a] A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.
[b] Polyb. in Leg. c. xxxviii.
* About 190,000l.

men, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambaſſador to a banquet, they entered into diſcourſe concerning that prince. In the praiſe the ambaſſador beſtowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chace, his addreſs in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exerciſe of his arms; and, to give an example of what he aſſerted, he declared, that this prince, being on horſeback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the diſcharge of a ſingle javelin.

The ſame year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a ſon, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometer. [c] The whole realm expreſſed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœloſyria and Paleſtine diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the provinces, and the moſt conſiderable perſons of thoſe countries went to Alexandria upon that occaſion with the moſt ſplendid equipages. Joſephus, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere, who was receiver-general of thoſe provinces, being too old to take ſuch a journey, ſent his youngeſt ſon, Hyrcanus, in his ſtead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who uſed to divert the king with his jeſts, ſaid to him; "Do but behold, ſir, the "quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your Ma- "jeſty may judge in what a manner his father gnaws "your provinces." Thoſe words made the king laugh; and he aſked Hyrcanus how he came to have ſo great a number of bones before him. "Your ma- "jeſty need not wonder at that (replied he;) for dogs "eat both fleſh and bones, as you ſee the reſt of the "perſons at your table have done (pointing to them;) "but men are contented to eat the fleſh, and leave the "bones like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confuſed. When the

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4.

the day for making the preſents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only * five talents to preſent, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themſelves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greateſt preſents made by the reſt did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus preſented to the king an hundred boys, well ſhaped and finely dreſſed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like preſent for that princeſs. The whole court was amazed at ſuch uncommon and ſurpaſſing magnificence; and the king and queen diſmiſſed Hyrcanus with the higheſt marks of their favour and eſteem.

[d] Ptolemy, in the firſt year of his reign, governed in ſo auſpicious a manner, as gained him univerſal approbation and applauſe: becauſe he followed, in all things, the advice of Ariſtomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poiſon to kings) prevailed over the wiſe counſels of that able miniſter. That prince ſhunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Ariſtomenes frequently took of adviſing him to act more conſiſtently with himſelf, he diſpatched him by poiſon. Having thus got rid of a troubleſome cenſor, whoſe ſight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it ſeemed to make him, he abandoned himſelf entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into exceſſes and diſorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the adminiſtration of affairs, but his wild paſſions; and treated his ſubjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at laſt quite weary of the oppreſſions and injuſtice to which they were daily expoſed,

[d] A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

* About ſeven hundred and fifty pounds. † About three thouſand pounds.

poſed, began to cabal together, and to form aſſociations againſt a king who oppreſſed them ſo grievouſly. Some perſons of the higheſt quality having engaged in this conſpiracy, they had already formed deſigns for depoſing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

[e] To extricate himſelf from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he choſe Polycrates for his prime miniſter, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the moſt conſummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had riſen to the command of the army under his father, and had ſerved in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occaſion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the iſland of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conſpiracy was diſcovered, the expedients he employed on that occaſion conduced very much to the preſervation of the ſtate.

[f] Ptolemy, by the aſſiſtance of this prime miniſter, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and ſubmit on certain conditions. But, having ſeiſed their perſons, he forfeited his promiſe; and, after having exerciſed various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now ſpeaking of, ſeems to have been very powerful, and in great conſideration. We have ſeen that Ptolemy, a little after his acceſſion to the throne, had been very ſolicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was alſo very deſirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republic ſix thouſand ſhields, and two hundred talents of braſs. His offer was accepted, and, in conſequence of it, Lycortas

[e] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113. [f] A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

tas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the preſents, and to renew the alliance; and theſe returned ſoon after with Ptolemy's ambaſſador, in order to ratify the treaty. [g] King Eumenes alſo ſent an embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe, and offered an hundred and twenty talents (about twenty-one thouſand pounds ſterling) the intereſt of which to be applied for the ſupport of the members of the public council. Others came likewiſe from Seleucus, who, in the name of their ſovereign, offered ten ſhips of war completely equipped; and, at the ſame time, deſired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambaſſador, whom Philopœmen had ſent to Rome to juſtify his conduct, was returned from thence, and deſired to give an account of his commiſſion.

For theſe ſeveral reaſons a great aſſembly was held. The firſt man that entered it was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had ſaid in the ſenate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the anſwer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the ſenate, in reality, were not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the maſſacre of the Spartans; but at the ſame time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no perſon happened to ſpeak for or againſt the anſwers of the ſenate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the ſame affair will be the ſubject of much debate in the ſequel.

The ambaſſadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and propoſed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendſhip and tender regard which their ſovereign had always ſhewed for the Achæans.

[g] A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. Polyb. in Legat. c. xiv. p. 850—852.

Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. "For, in a word," continued he, "as the law forbids every individual, "whether of the people or of the magistrates, to "receive any gift from a king upon any pretence "whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, "should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of "Eumenes's offers. That with regard to the in-"famy, it was self-evident; for," says Apollonius, "what could reflect greater ignominy in a council, "than to receive, annually, from a king, money "for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order to "deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of "his pensioners, and in a manner rising from his "table, after having swallowed the * bait that con-"cealed the hook? But what dreadful consequences "might not be expected from such a custom, should "it be established? That afterwards Prusias, ex-"cited by the example of Eumenes, would also be "liberal of his benefactions, and after him, Selen-"cus: that, as the interest of kings differed widely "from those of republics, and as, in the latter, "their most important deliberations related to their "differences with crowned heads, two things would "inevitably happen: either the Achæans would "transact all things to the advantage of those princes, "and to the prejudice of their own country; or else "they must behave with the blackest ingratitude "towards

* Polybius, by this expression would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those who composed the council his dependents. Καλαπεπωκοτες; οιονει δελεαρ.

" towards their benefactors." He concluded his ſpeech with exhorting the Achæans to refuſe the preſent which was offered; and added, " That it was their " duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting to " bribe their fidelity by ſuch an offer." The whole aſſembly with ſhouts rejected unanimouſly, the propoſal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of ſo large a ſum of money might be.

After, this, Lycortas, and the reſt of the ambaſſadors who had been ſent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Ariſtenes, who preſided in the aſſembly, having aſked what treaty the king of Egypt deſired to renew (ſeveral having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions) and nobody being able to anſwer that queſtion, the deciſion of that affair was referred to another time.

At laſt the Ambaſſadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him: but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ſhips he offered.

[h] Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome againſt Philip. The ſenate thereupon nominated three commiſſioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of thoſe affairs upon the ſpot.

[i] Philip ſtill retained the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the Romans, with whom he believed he had juſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, becauſe by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on ſuch of his ſubjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to conſole him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynander the king of that country; by giving up to him ſome cities of Theſſaly, which the Ætolians had

[h] A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185. [i] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29.

had ſeiſed; by leaving him the poſſeſſion of Demetrias and all Magneſia; and by not oppoſing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumſtances had ſomewhat appeaſed his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repoſe which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. But the complaints that were made againſt him at Rome, having been liſtened to there, revived all his former diſguſts.

The three commiſſioners being arrived at Tempe in Theſſaly, an aſſembly was called there, to which came, on one ſide, the ambaſſadors of the Theſſalians, of the Perrhebians and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumſtance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of ſo powerful a prince. The ambaſſadors explained their various complaints againſt Philip, with greater or leſs force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excuſing themſelves for being obliged to plead againſt him, in favour of their liberty, intreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a maſter, and to imitate the Romans in that particular who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendſhip than fear. The reſt of the ambaſſadors, being leſs reſerved, and not ſo moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injuſtice, oppreſſion, and uſurpation; aſſuring the commiſſioners, that in caſe they did not apply a ſpeedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their reſtoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courſer, would never be kept in and reſtrained without a very tight rein, and a ſharp curb. Philip, that he might aſſume the air of an accuſer rather than of one accuſed, inveighed heavily againſt thoſe who had harangued on this occaſion,

* *Ut equum ſternacem non parentem, frenis aſperioribus caſtigandum eſſe.* Liv.

caſion, and particularly againſt the Theſſalians. He ſaid, that like * ſlaves, who being made free on a ſudden, contrary to all expectations, break into the moſt injurious exclamations againſt their maſters and benefactors, ſo they abuſed, with the utmoſt inſolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long ſervitude, to make a prudent and moderate uſe of the liberty which had been granted them. The commiſſioners, after hearing the accuſations and anſwers, the circumſtances of which I ſhall omit as little important, and making ſome particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their reſpective demands.

From thence they went to Theſſalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much diſguſted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambaſſadors ſaid to the commiſſioners, that if the Romans were reſolved to reſtore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their ſovereign was far from having a deſign to oppoſe it; but that, if they did not concern themſelves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that caſe, the ſervice which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome ſeemed to require that they ſhould rather be given up to their maſter than to Philip who had no manner of right to them, but had uſurped them by open force: that, beſides, theſe cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commiſſioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine theſe differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the injuſtice and oppreſſion which Philip's garriſon exerciſed in their city.

Here

* *Inſolenter & immodice abuti Theſſalos, indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina ſiti nimis avide ineram haurientes libertatem. Ita, ſervorum modo præter ſpem repente manu miſſorum, licentiam vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare ſeſe inſectatione & conviciis dominorum.* Liv.

Here Philip delivered himſelf in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himſelf perſonally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him juſtice on any occaſion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the ſervices he had done the Romans on different occaſions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their intereſt, ſo far as to refuſe three thouſand * talents, fifty ſhips of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithſtanding this, he had the mortification to ſee Eumenes preferred on all occaſions, with whom it was too great a condeſcenſion to compare himſelf; and that the Romans, ſo far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his ſervices merited, had even diſpoſſeſſed him, as well of thoſe cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of ſuch as they had beſtowed upon him. "You, "O Romans," ſays he, concluding his ſpeech, "are "to conſider upon what foot you intend to have me "be with you. If you are determined to treat me as "an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that "caſe, you need only uſe me as you have hitherto "done: but, if you ſtill revere in my perſon the title "and quality of king, ally, and friend, ſpare me, I "beſeech you, the ſhame of being treated any longer "with ſo much indignity."

The commiſſioners were moved with this ſpeech of the king. For this reaſon, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in ſuſpenſe, by making no deciſive anſwer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in queſtion had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commiſſioners, as he pretended they were, in that caſe, it was not in their power to reverſe it in any manner: that if Philip had acquired them by right of conqueſt, it was but juſt

* About 450,000*l.* ſterling.

juſt that he ſhould be ſuffered to continue in poſſeſſion of them: that, if neither of theſe things ſhould be proved, then the cognizance of this affair ſhould be left to the judgment of the ſenate; and, in the mean time, the garriſons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretenſions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, proviſionally, to withdraw his garriſons out of the reſpective cities, ſo far from ſatisfying that prince, ſo entirely diſcontented and enraged him, that the conſequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

[k] The commiſſioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Ariſtenes, who was the chief magiſtrate, aſſembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wiſdom of their government on all other occaſions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much cenſured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently againſt them on that occaſion. The ſilence of Ariſtenes, who did not reply a ſingle word, ſhowed that he was of the ſame opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better ſkilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints againſt him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to ſpeak with the utmoſt vigour in defence of the republic. They ſhowed, that the whole tranſaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians: and that, had it been otherwiſe, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, muſt have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the aſſembly, the members of it, moved

[k] Polyb. in Leg. c. xli p. 853, 854.

moved with that diſcourſe, came to a reſolution, that nothing ſhould be changed in what had been decreed, and that this anſwer ſhould be made the Roman ambaſſador.

When it was told Cecilius, he deſired that the general aſſembly of the country might be convened. To this the magiſtrates replied, that he muſt firſt produce a letter from the ſenate of Rome, by which the Achæans ſhould be deſired to meet. As Cecilius had no ſuch letter, they told him plainly, that they would not aſſemble; which exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magiſtrates had to ſay. It was believed that this ambaſſador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themſelves with ſo much freedom, had they not been ſure that Ariſtenes and Diophanes were in their intereſt. And, indeed, they were accuſed of having invited thoſe Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly ſuſpected by the populace.

[1] Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the ſenate with whatever had been tranſacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambaſſadors of Macedonia and Peloponneſus were brought in. Thoſe of Philip and Eumenes were introduced firſt, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before ſaid in the preſence of Cecilius in Theſſalonica. The ſenate after admitting them to audience, ſent to Philip other ambaſſadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the ſpot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promiſed Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the ſame time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the caſtles, territories, and cities, which he poſſeſſed on the ſea coaſt of Thrace.

[1] A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in Legat. c. xlii. Liv. l. xxxix n. 33.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambaſſador whom the Achæans had ſent, to give the reaſons why they had not made their anſwers to Cecilius; and to inform the ſenate of all that had been tranſacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the firſt exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had reſtored to their country. The circumſtance which moſt exaſperated the Achæans was, to ſee that, notwithſtanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themſelves with the odious commiſſion of accuſing thoſe who had ſaved them ſo unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable bleſſing of returning to their houſes and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impoſſible to ſettle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the reſt of the Achæans had done; and they likewiſe cleared themſelves, for their having refuſed to call a general aſſembly. On the other ſide, Areus and Alcibiades repreſented, in the moſt affecting manner, the ſad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demoliſhed; its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a ſtate of captivity: the ſacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it ſubſiſt during ſo long a ſeries of years, and with ſo much glory, had been entirely aboliſhed.

The ſenate, after weighing and comparing the reaſons on both ſides, ordered the ſame ambaſſadors to inquire into this affair, as were nominated to inſpect thoſe of Macedon; and deſired the Achæans to convene their general aſſembly, whenever the Roman ambaſſadors ſhould require it; as the ſenate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they aſked it.

When

* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that ſuch ſlaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, ſhould leave the city and all Aconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to ſeiſe and ſell them as ſlaves, which had accordingly been executed.

[m] When Philip was informed by his ambaſſadors, who had been ſent back to him from Rome, that he muſt abſolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the higheſt degree of rage, to ſee his dominions contracted on every ſide, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomaſtes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Caſſander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmoſt violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on thoſe who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commiſſioners, being firmly perſuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the ſtrongeſt terms, on that account. The latter reſolutely aſſerted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that maſſacre, but that it was wholly occaſioned by an inſurrection of the populace. "Some "(ſays he) declaring for Eumenes, and others for "me, a great quarrel aroſe, and they butchered one "another." He went ſo far as to challenge them to produce any perſon, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His puniſhment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. "It is to no purpoſe," ſays Appius to him, "for you to apologiſe for yourſelf; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them." Theſe words gave Philip the greateſt anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this firſt interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to ſend immediately Onomaſtes and Caſſander to Rome to be examined by the ſenate on the affair in queſtion, de-

[m] Polyb. in Legat. c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

claring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre: but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the Commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the Commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on the people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, not being prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years an hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending

fending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would ſtrike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their oppoſing the reſolution he had formed of entering into war againſt the Romans. And accordingly he defeated thoſe petty ſovereigns in a battle, and took priſoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

[n] The arrival of the Roman commiſſioners was expected in Peloponneſus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an anſwer might be ready for them, ſummoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He repreſented to the aſſembly, ſuch things as they might fear from them; the Romans ſeeming to favour their intereſt much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been ſo baſe as to undertake the embaſſy againſt them to the ſenate, where they acted and ſpoke like profeſſed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, when it was they who had reſtored them to it. Upon this, great ſhouts were heard in every part of the aſſembly, and the preſident was deſired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a paſſion and a thirſt of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commiſſioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmoſt terror; for, ſeeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had juſt before condemned to die, arrive with the commiſſioners, they naturally ſuppoſed that the inquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them that the ſenate had been ſtrongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but diſapprove of every thing which

[n] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 35—37.

which had been done on that occaſion: the murther of thoſe who, on the promiſe which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cauſe; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which had ſpread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flouriſh for ſeveral ages.

Lycortas, as preſident of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been tranſacted againſt Lacedæmonia, undertook to anſwer Appius. He ſhowed firſt, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expreſsly forbid them to make any attempt againſt the maritime cities; theſe exiles, in the abſence of the Romans, could have recourſe only to the Achæan league, which could not be juſtly accuſed for having aſſiſted them to the utmoſt of their power, in ſo urgent a neceſſity. That, with regard to the maſſacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accuſed for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulſe, and without being authoriſed in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmoſt fury and violence on thoſe whom they ſuppoſed had been the authors of their baniſhment, and to whom the reſt of the calamities they had ſuffered were owing. "However (added "Lycortas) it is pretended that we cannot but own "that we were the cauſe of the abolition of Lycur-"gus's laws, and the demolition of the walls of "Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, "how can this double objection be made to us at the "ſame time? The walls in queſtion were not built "by Lycurgus, but by tyrants who erected them "ſome few years ago, not for the ſecurity of the city "but for their own ſafety, and to enable themſelves "to aboliſh, with impunity, the diſcipline and regu-"lation ſo happily eſtabliſhed by that wiſe legiſla-"tor. Were it poſſible for him to riſe now from the "grave,

" grave, he would be overjoyed to ſee thoſe walls " deſtroyed, and ſay, that he now knows and owns " his native country and ancient Sparta. You ſhould " not, O citizens of Sparta, have waited for Philo- " pœmen or the Achæans; but ought yourſelves to " have pulled down thoſe walls with your own hands, " and deſtroyed even the ſlighteſt trace of tyranny. " Theſe were a kind of ignominious ſcars of your " ſlavery; and, after having maintained your liber- " ties and privileges during almoſt eight hundred " years; and been for ſome time the ſovereigns of " Greece, without the ſuppo.t and aſſiſtance of " walls; they, within theſe hundred years, have " become the inſtruments of your ſlavery, and in a " manner, your ſhackles and fetters. With reſpect " to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were ſup- " preſſed by the tyrants; and we have only ſubſtituted " our own, by putting you upon a level with us in " all things."

Addreſſing himſelf afterwards to Appius, " I can- " not forbear owning (ſays he) that the words I " have hitherto ſpoken, were not as from one ally to " another; nor of a free nation, but as ſlaves who " ſpeak to their maſter. For, in fine, if the voice of " the herald, who proclaimed us to be free in the " front of the Grecian ſtates, was not a vain and " empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that " time be real and ſolid; if you are deſirous of ſin- " cerely preſerving an alliance and friendſhip with " us; on what can that infinite diſparity which you " ſuppoſe to be between you Romans and we Achæ- " ans be grounded? I do not inquire into the treat- " ment which Capua met with, after you had taken " that city: why then do you examine into our uſage " of the Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered " them? Some of them were killed: and I will ſup- " poſe that it was by us. But did not you ſtrike off the " heads of ſeveral Campanian ſenators? We levelled " the walls of Sparta with the ground; but as for

" you, Romans, you not only diſpoſſeſſed the Cam-
" panians of their walls, but of their city and lands.
" To this I know you will reply, 'that the equality
" expreſſed in the treaties between the Romans and
" Achæans is merely ſpecious, and a bare form of
" words: that we really have but a precarious and
" derivative liberty, but that the Romans are poſſeſſed
" of authority and empire. This, Appius, I am
" but too ſenſible of. However, ſince we muſt be
" forced to ſubmit to this, I intreat you at leaſt, how
" wide a difference ſoever you may ſet between your-
" ſelves and us, not to put your enemies and our
" own upon a level with us, who are your allies;
" eſpecially, not to ſhow them better treatment.
" They require us by forſwearing ourſelves, to diſ-
" ſolve and annul all we have enacted by oath; and
" to revoke that, which by being written in our
" records, and engraved on marble, in order to pre-
" ſerve the remembrance of it eternally, is become
" a ſacred monument, which it is not lawful for us
" to violate. We revere you, O Romans; and if
" you will have it ſo, we alſo fear you: but then we
" think it glorious to have a greater reverence and
" fear for the immortal gods."

The greateſt part of the aſſembly applauded this ſpeech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had ſpoken like a true magiſtrate; it was therefore neceſſary for the Romans to act with vigour, or reſolve to loſe their authority. Appius, without deſcending to particulars, adviſed them, whilſt they ſtill enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at theſe words; but were inſtructed by them, not to perſiſt obſtinately in the refuſal of what ſhould be demanded. All they therefore deſired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleaſed with regard to Sparta; but not to oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling

annulling their decree themſelves. As to the ſentence that was juſt before paſſed againſt Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

[o] The Romans pronounce judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the Achæans ſhould be recalled and reſtored; that all ſentences relating to this affair ſhould be repealed, and that Sparta ſhould continue a member of the Achæan league. [p] Pauſanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy; that the walls which had been demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commiſſary to ſettle the affairs of Macedon, and thoſe of Peloponneſus, where great feuds and diſturbance ſubſiſted, eſpecially between the Achæans on one ſide, and the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. [q] They all had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome: but it does not appear that the ſenate was in any great haſte to put an end to their differences. The anſwer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themſelves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans againſt the Meſſenians, purſuant to the treaty; or at leaſt, not to ſuffer arms or proviſions to be tranſported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was anſwered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the ſenate did not think itſelf obliged to enter into thoſe diſputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and diviſions, and even, in ſome meaſure, give a ſanction to them.

In theſe proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended ſolely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whoſe power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious deſigns with the ſpecious pretence of ſuccouring the weak and oppreſſed.

[o] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48. [p] In Achaic. p. 414. [q] Polyb. in Legat. c. li.

SECT. X. *Philopœmen beſieges Meſſene. He is taken priſoner, and put to death by the Meſſenians. Meſſene ſurrendered to the Achæans. The ſplendid funeral proceſſion of Philopœmen, whoſe aſhes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is ſucceeded by Philometor his ſon.*

[r] DINOCRATES the Meſſenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Meſſene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might beſt ſeiſe upon a conſiderable poſt, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then ſeventy years of age, and generaliſſimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay ſick. However, the inſtant the news of this was brought him, he ſet out, notwithſtanding his indiſpoſition, made a counter march, and advanced towards Meſſene with a ſmall body of forces, conſiſting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out againſt him, was ſoon put to flight: but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Meſſene, happening to come up and re-inforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was ſollicitous of nothing but to ſave the gallant youths who had followed him in this expedition, performed the moſt extraordinary act of bravery; but happening to fall from his horſe, and receiving a deep wound in his head, he was taken priſoner by the enemy, who carried him to Meſſene. Plutarch conſiders this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the puniſhment for ſome raſh and arrogant words that had eſcaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: "Ought that man," ſays he, "to be valued, who ſuffers himſelf to be taken alive by the enemy, whilſt he has arms to defend himſelf?"

Upon

[r] A. M. 3821. Ant J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii. liii.

Upon the arrival of the firſt news which was carried to Meſſene, *viz.* That Philopœmen was taken priſoner, and on his way to that city, the Meſſenians were in ſuch tranſports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to perſuade themſelves of the truth of what they heard, till they ſaw him themſelves, ſo greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To ſatisfy the violent curioſity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a ſight of him, they were forced to ſhow the illuſtrious priſoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to ſee him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, moſt of the ſpectators were ſo much moved to compaſſion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which reſulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude: "That the Meſſenians ought to "call to mind the great ſervices done by Philopœ-"men, and his preſerving the liberty of Achaia, by "the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magiſtrates did not ſuffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, leſt the pity of the people ſhould be attended with ill conſequences. They therefore took him away on a ſudden; and, after conſulting together, cauſed him to be conveyed to a place called *the treaſury*. This was a ſubterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was ſhut with a huge ſtone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they impriſoned Philopœmen, and poſted a guard round every part of it.

As ſoon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates cauſed the ſtone to be rolled away, and the executioner to deſcend into the dungeon with a doſe of poiſon to Philopœmen, commanding him not to ſtir till he had ſwallowed it. The moment the illuſtrious Megalopolitan perceived the firſt glimmerings of light, and ſaw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and a ſword in the

the other, he raiſed himſelf with the utmoſt difficulty (for he was very weak) ſat down, and then taking the cup, he inquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner anſwering, that he heard almoſt all of them had ſaved themſelves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, "You bring me," ſays he, "good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate:" after which, without breathing the leaſt complaint: he ſwallowed the deadly doſe, and laid himſelf again on his cloak. The poiſon was very ſpeedy in its effects; for Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death ſpread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpreſſibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magiſtrates came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being ſummoned, it was unanimouſly reſolved not to delay a moment the revenge of ſo horrid a deed; and, accordingly, having elected on the ſpot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmoſt fury into Meſſene, and filled every part of it with blood and ſlaughter. The Meſſenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themſelves by force of arms, ſent a deputation to the Achæans, to deſire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their paſt faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it adviſable to treat them as their furious and inſolent revolt ſeemed to deſerve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to ſubmit all their affairs to the diſpoſal of the Achæans, and to receive a garriſon into their citadel. Theſe conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himſelf, in which

he

he was imitated by all thoſe who had adviſed the putting of Philopœmen to death. Lycortas cauſed thoſe to be delivered up who had adviſed the inſulting of Philopœmen. Theſe were undoubtedly the perſons who were ſtoned round his tomb, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

The funeral obſequies of Philopœmen were then ſolemnized. After the body had been conſumed by the flames, his aſhes laid together, and depoſited in an urn, the train ſet out for Megalopolis. This proceſſion did not ſo much reſemble a funeral as a triumph, or rather it was a mixture of both. Firſt came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all ſhedding floods of tears. Then followed the Meſſenian priſoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's ſon, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the nobleſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whoſe arms glittered magnificently, and whoſe horſes were all richly caparisoned, who cloſed the march, and did not ſeem too much dejected at this mournful ſcene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the proceſſion, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All poſſible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Meſſenian captives were ſtoned round his ſepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpoſe, ordered all the greateſt honours to be paid him, and erected many ſtatues to him with magnificent inſcriptions.

Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burned and deſtroyed by Mummius the proconſul, a falſe accuſer (a Roman) as I obſerved elſewhere, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get them broke to pieces; proſecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of diſcovering a hatred for them on all occaſions. The cauſe

* This was Polybius the hiſtorian, who might then be about two-and-twenty. † Thirty-ſeven years.

cauſe was heard in council before Mummius. The ſlanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were anſwered by Polybius, who refuted them with great ſolidity and eloquence. It is great pity ſo affecting a piece ſhould have been loſt. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be deſtroyed, though he had oppoſed, like a bulwark, the ſucceſſes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, ſays Plutarch, made the juſt and proper diſparity between virtue and intereſt; they diſtinguiſhed the glorious and honeſt from the profitable; and were perſuaded, that worthy perſons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who ſignaliſed themſelves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers obſerve, that three illuſtrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the ſame year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two moſt celebrated generals of the two moſt powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a ſufficient idea of his character, ſo ſhall only repeat what I before obſerved, that Philopœmen was called the laſt of the Greeks, as Brutus was ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans.

The Meſſenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the moſt deplorable condition, were, by the goodneſs and generoſity of Lycortas and the Achæans, reſtored to the league from which they had withdrawn themſelves. Several other cities, which, from the example they ſet them, had alſo renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a ſeaſonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and exceſſive ſeverity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to deſpair; and ſo far from proving a remedy

remedy to evils, only enflames and exaſperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Meſſenians, the ambaſſadors were addreſſed in terms quite different from thoſe which had been uſed to them before. The ſenate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to ſuffer either arms or proviſions to be carried from Italy to Meſſene; an anſwer which manifeſtly diſcovers the inſincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their tranſactions with other nations. They ſeemed, at firſt, deſirous of giving the ſignal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had ſought all opportunities to ſerve them.

It is manifeſt on this occaſion, that the Roman ſenate conſented to what had been tranſacted, becauſe it was not in their power to oppoſe it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who poſſeſſed almoſt the whole force of Peloponneſus; that they were very cautious of giving the leaſt umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were diſguſted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in ſome enterpriſe which might have been of ill conſequence to the Romans.

[s] I have related Hannibal's death in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great ſervice. Both ſides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occaſion, Eumenes's fleet conſiſted of a much greater number of ſhips than that of Pruſias. But Hannibal oppoſed ſtratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous ſerpents, and filled ſeveral earthen veſſels

[s] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. x—xii. Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

veſſels with them. The inſtant the ſignal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and ſailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only (informing them at the ſame time of a ſign by which they ſhould diſtinguiſh it from the reſt); and to annoy the enemy no otherwiſe than by throwing the earthen veſſels into the reſt of the gallies. At firſt this was only laughed at; the ſailors not imagining that theſe earthen veſſels could be of the leaſt ſervice: but when the ſerpents were ſeen gliding over every part of the gallies, the ſoldiers and rowers, now ſtudious only of preſerving themſelves from thoſe venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was ſo warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the king made his eſcape. Pruſias, by Hannibal's aſſiſtance, gained ſeveral victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, becauſe the victims had not been propitious: "What*," ſays Hannibal, "do you rely more upon the liver of a beaſt than upon the counſel of Hannibal?" To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Pruſias to deliver him up, he took a doſe of poiſon, which brought him to his end.

† I before obſerved that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambaſſadors being returned, and having reported the anſwer which had been received from the ſenate, Lycortas aſſembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he repreſented that the Romans, to whoſe diſpoſal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had declared to the ambaſſadors, that they were no ways concerned

† A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. liii.

* *An tu, inquit, vitulinæ caruncułæ, quàm imperatori veteri mavis credere?——Unius hoſtiæ jecinori longo experimento teſtatam gloriam ſuam poſtponi, æquo animo non tulit.* Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

concerned in this affair: That the Spartans, in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, were very deſirous of that union, which (he obſerved) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the firſt exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be baniſhed from the city, and other citizens ſubſtituted in their room. But Diophanes and ſome other perſons undertook to defend the cauſe of the exiles. However, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, the council decreed, that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the league, and was ſo accordingly. With regard to the firſt exiles, thoſe only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt againſt the Achæan republic.

When the affair was ended, ambaſſadors were ſent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The ſenate, after giving audience to thoſe ſent by Sparta and by the exiles, ſaid nothing to the ambaſſadors, which tended to ſhow that they were diſguſted in any manner at what had paſſed. With reſpect to thoſe who had been lately ſent into baniſhment, the ſenate promiſed to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the ſenate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Meſſenians had been reſtored to their former ſtate: and the ſenators were not only ſatisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

[u] The Lacedæmonian exiles were no ſooner returned from Rome into Peloponneſus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the ſenate had ſent by them, and by which they were deſired to permit the exiles to ſettle again in their native country. It was anſwered, that the purport of thoſe letters ſhould be conſidered at the return of the Achæan ambaſſadors from

[u] A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Polyb. in Leg. c. liv.

from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the ſenate had written in favour of the exiles, not ſo much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requiſite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

[x] Hyperbates, having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice ſhould be taken of the letters which the ſenate had written, concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles who had been baniſhed from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the "Romans," ſays he, "liſten favourably to ſuch com-"plaints and intreaties of unfortunate perſons, as "appear to them juſt and reaſonable, they, in this, "act a very juſt part. But when it is repreſented to "them, that among the favours which are requeſted "at their hands, ſome are not in their power to "beſtow, and others would reflect diſhonour, and be "very prejudicial to their allies, on theſe occaſions "they do not uſe to perſiſt obſtinately in their opini-"ons; or exact from ſuch allies an implicit obedi-"ence to their commands. This is exactly our caſe "at preſent. Let us inform the Romans, that we "cannot obey their orders without infringing the "ſacred oaths we have taken, without violating the "laws on which our league is founded; and then "they will undoubtedly wave their reſolutions, and "confeſs, that it is with the greateſt reaſon we re-"fuſe to obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be ſacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was reſolved that a deputation ſhould be ſent to the ſenate, in order to repreſent the reaſons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lyſiades, and

A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Polyb. in Leg. c. lviii.

and Aratus, were the ambaſſadors to whom inſtructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When theſe ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the ſenate, acted in direct oppoſition to his inſtructions. He not only had the aſſurance to cenſure thoſe who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the ſenate what they ſhould do. "If the Greeks (ſays "he) directing himſelf to the ſenators, do not obey "you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or "orders which you ſend them, you muſt blame your-"ſelves only for it. In all the ſtates of Greece, "there are now two parties; one of which aſſerts, "that all your orders ought to be obeyed; and that "laws and treaties, in a word, that all things ſhould "pay homage to your will and pleaſure: the other "party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, "and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are "for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably "to them. Of theſe two parties, the laſt ſuits beſt "with the genius and character of the Achæans, and "has the greateſt influence over the people. What "is the conſequence of this? Thoſe who comply "with your meaſures are deteſted by the common "people, whilſt ſuch as oppoſe your decrees are "honoured and applauded. Whereas, if the ſenate "would ſhow ever ſo little favour to ſuch as eſpouſe "their intereſt cordially, the chief magiſtrates and "officers of all the republics would declare for the "Romans; and the people, intimidated by this, "would ſoon follow their example. But, whilſt you "ſhow an indifference on this head, all the chiefs "will certainly oppoſe you, as the infallible means "of acquiring the love and reſpect of the people. "And accordingly we ſee, that many people, whoſe "only merit conſiſts in their making the ſtrongeſt "oppoſition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for "the defence and preſervation of the laws of their "country,

" country, have been raiſed to the moſt exalted em-
" ployments in their country. In caſe you do not
" much value whether the Greeks are, or are not, at
" your devotion, then indeed your preſent conduct
" ſuits exactly your ſentiments. But if you would
" have them execute your orders, and receive your
" letters with reſpect, reflect ſeriouſly on this matter;
" otherwiſe be aſſured that they will, on all occaſions,
" declare againſt your commands. You may judge of
" the truth of this from their preſent behaviour to-
" wards you. How long is it ſince you commanded
" them, by your letters, to recall the Lacedæmonian
" exiles? Nevertheleſs, ſo far from recalling them,
" they have publiſhed a quite contrary decree, and
" have bound themſelves by oath never to re-inſtate
" them. This ought to be a leſſon to you, and ſhow
" how cautious you ſhould be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this ſpeech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their buſineſs in few words, but in ſuch as were well adapted to move compaſſion, and then retired.

A ſpeech ſo well calculated to favour the intereſt of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the ſenate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themſelves ſpontaneouſly into the arms of ſlavery: proſtituted the liberty of which their anceſtors had been ſo exceedingly jealous, and paid a ſubmiſſion and homage to the Romans, which they had always refuſed to the *Great King* of Perſia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardleſs of every thing but their intereſt, ſold and ſacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; diſcovered the weak ſide of republics with regard to their domeſtic affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at laſt cruſhed; and furniſhed themſelves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In conſequence of this ſpeech, it was ſoon concluded, that it would be proper to increaſe the power and credit of thoſe who made it their buſineſs to defend the authority

authority of the Romans, and to humble ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe it. Polybius obſerves, that this was the firſt time that the fatal reſolution was taken, to humble and depreſs thoſe who, in their reſpective countries, had the moſt noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all ſuch who, either right or wrong, ſhould declare in favour of the Romans; a reſolution, which ſoon after increaſed the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much leſſened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the conſtant maxims of their policy, to oppreſs by all poſſible methods whoever ventured to oppoſe their ambitious projects. This ſingle maxim may ſerve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and to ſhew us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they ſometimes diſplay, but which does not long ſupport itſelf, and of which a juſt judgment cannot be formed but by the conſequences.

To conclude, the ſenate, in order to get the exiles reſtored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incenſe all Greece againſt the Achæans. And, in their anſwer to the ambaſſadors, they did not make the leaſt mention of any one but Callicrates, whoſe example the ſenate wiſhed the magiſtrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this anſwer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cauſe of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a ſort of equality had been obſerved between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the conſiderable ſervices the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the moſt perilous junctures, as in the wars againſt

Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league diſtinguiſhed themſelves at that time in a moſt conſpicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the ſhining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treaſon, for we may juſtly beſtow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, ſays Polybius, noble in their ſentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cauſe of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whoſe fidelity they may ſafely depend, ſuggeſts to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themſelves, ſhould they grant certain favours, they generally return to a juſt way of thinking, and correct, ſo far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiſs. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates ſtudies nothing but how he may beſt work upon their paſſions by flattery. He had been ſent to Rome, to plead the cauſe of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares againſt his ſuperiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he ſpread ſo artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to ſuch a degree, that he got himſelf elected captain-general. He was no ſooner inveſted with this command, but he reſtored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Meſſene to their country.

Polybius, on this occaſion, praiſes exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderneſs with which they liſten to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readineſs to atone for ſuch unjuſt actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauſes he gives them will not admit of great abridgment. The reader muſt call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece

Greece had been reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. We are not to expect from an hiſtorian, who is ſubject and dependent, ſo much veracity as he very poſſibly would have obſerved in a free ſtate, and at a time when men were permitted to ſpeak the truth; and we muſt not blindly believe every circumſtance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and ſpeak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themſelves did not ſcruple to commit injuſtice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpoſe, which procured them the ſame advantage, and ſerved to conceal their unjuſt policy.

[y] Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war againſt Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very ſtrong city of Pontus, of which his ſucceſſors remained poſſeſſors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints againſt this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in intereſt with Eumenes, ſent alſo ambaſſadors thither. The Romans ſeveral times employed their mediation and authority to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was inſincere on theſe occaſions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was oppoſed by the confederate kings. Several enterpriſes enſued; and after ſome years had been ſpent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

[z] Never were more embaſſies ſent than at the time we are now ſpeaking of. Ambaſſadors were ſeen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. [a] The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his ſon, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the preſents he had already beſtowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, theſe ambaſſadors did not leave Achæa, becauſe when they were

[y] A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 51—53—55—59. [z] A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. [a] Polyb. in Leg. c. lvii.

were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

[b] This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his son, who was but six years of age succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against Philip. Demetrius, his son, who was in that city, is sent to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him.*

[c] FROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip were heard there

[b] Hieron. in Daniel. [c] A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private perſons made their complaints in that city againſt a prince who was a very troubleſome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redreſſed which they pretended to have received; or, at leaſt, to conſole themſelves in ſome meaſure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the reſt, to whom, by order of the Roman commiſſioners and ſenate, the fortreſſes in Thrace were to be given up, ſent ambaſſadors, at whoſe head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the ſenate, that Philip did not evacuate the garriſons in Thrace as he had promiſed; and to complain of his ſending ſuccours into Bithynia to Pruſias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither as has been already mentioned, he had been ſent by his father, in order to ſuperintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his buſineſs to anſwer the ſeveral accuſations brought againſt his father: but the ſenate, imagining that this would be a very difficult taſk for ſo young a prince, who was not accuſtomed to ſpeak in public; to ſpare him that trouble, they ſent certain perſons to him to inquire, whether the king his father had not given him ſome memorials; and contented themſelves with his reading them. Philip therein juſtified himſelf to the beſt of his power, with reſpect to moſt of the articles which were exhibited againſt him; but he eſpecially ſhowed great diſguſt at the decrees which the Roman commiſſioners had enacted againſt him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The ſenate ſaw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and aſſured them, that every thing ſhould be done agreeable to the will of the Romans, the ſenate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wiſely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in ſending his ſon Demetrius to make his

excuſes. That, as to paſt tranſactions, the ſenate might diſſemble, forget, and bear with a great many things; that, as to the future, they relied on the promiſe which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hoſtage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Macedon to rectify, peaceably and without noiſe, whatever might have been hitherto amiſs: and that as to the reſt, the ſenate was well pleaſed to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his ſon Demetrius for the tenderneſs with which the Romans behaved towards him. Theſe marks of diſtinction which the ſenate gave him with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy againſt him, and at length occaſioned his deſtruction.

[c] The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambaſſadors, produced different effects, according to the various diſpoſitions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the conſequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleaſed with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the throne of Macedon, after the demiſe of his father. For though he was the younger ſon, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother, who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perſeus was the ſon of a concubine, and even reputed ſuppoſititious. Beſides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perſeus not having any credit with them. And theſe were the common reports.

On one ſide alſo, Perſeus was greatly uneaſy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be

[c] Liv. xxxix. n. 53.

be but a very feeble title againſt a brother ſuperior to him in all other reſpects: and on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to diſpoſe of the throne as he pleaſed, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger ſon. It was alſo a great mortification to him to ſee riſing, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of ſecond court in the concourſe of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himſelf did not take ſufficient care to prevent or ſooth the growing diſaffection to his perſon. Inſtead of endeavouring to ſuppreſs envy, by gentleneſs, modeſty, and complacency, he only enflamed it, by a certain air of haughtineſs which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himſelf upon the marks of diſtinction, with which he had been honoured in that city; and not ſcrupling to declare, that the ſenate had granted him many things they had refuſed his father.

Philip's diſcontent was much more inflamed at the arrival of the new ambaſſadors, to whom his ſon made his court more aſſiduouſly than to himſelf; and when he found he ſhould be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garriſons from that country, and to execute other things, either purſuant to the decrees of the firſt commiſſioners, or to the freſh orders he had received from Rome; all theſe orders and decrees he complied with very much againſt his will, and with the higheſt ſecret reſentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not ſufficiently prepared. To remove all ſuſpicion of his harbouring the leaſt deſign that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, againſt people with whom the Romans did not concern themſelves in any manner.

[d] However, his ſchemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commiſſioners, who had communicated the orders of the ſenate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's diſcourſes, and the ſeveral ſteps he took, viſibly threat-

[d] Liv. l. xl. n. 3—5.

ened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon; and substituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

[c] But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children, and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-laws. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of Æmia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother.

[c] A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. * Æmathia, called formerly Peonia.

ther. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murther the children of thoſe who had been put to death: plainly foreſeeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, ſhe formed a ſurpriſing reſolution, declaring that ſhe would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children rather than ſuffer them to fall into the mercileſs power of Philip. Poris, whoſe ſoul was ſtruck with horror at this deſign, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would ſend all their children to Athens, to ſome friends, on whoſe fidelity and humanity he could ſafely rely, and that he himſelf would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all ſet out from Theſſalonica, in order to ſail to the city of Ænia, to aſſiſt at a ſolemn feſtival, which was ſolemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having ſpent the whole day in feſtivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body elſe was aſleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Theſſalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, and drove them back towards the coaſt. At day break, the king's officers, who were poſted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately ſent off an armed ſloop: commanding the captain of it, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was ſeen every moment, either exhorting the ſhip's company in the ſtrongeſt terms, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, reſuming her former reſolution, and preſenting to her children the deadly doſe ſhe had prepared, and the daggers ſhe had brought with her: "Death (ſays ſhe) "only can free you from your miſeries; and here is "what will procure you that laſt, ſad refuge. Se- "cure yourſelves from the king's horrid cruelty by

"the

" the method you like beſt. Go, my dear children, " ſuch of you as are more advanced in years, and take " theſe poniards; or, in caſe a ſlower kind of death " may be more grateful, take this poiſon." The enemy were now almoſt in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands, and all, having either ſwallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their boſoms, were thrown into the ſea. Theoxena, after giving her huſband a laſt ſad embrace, leaped into the ſea with him. Philip's officers then ſeiſed the galley, but did not find one perſon alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred againſt Philip. He was publicly deteſted as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both againſt him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, ſays Livy, ſoon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance againſt his own children.

[f] Perſeus ſaw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increaſed daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to aſcend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by ſounding the diſpoſition of thoſe who were in greateſt favour with the king, and by addreſſing them in obſcure and ambiguous words. At firſt, ſome ſeemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his propoſals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, obſerving that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increaſed ſenſibly; which Perſeus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, oppoſed to the utmoſt, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whoſe youth and inexperience made him not ſufficiently upon his guard againſt the

[f] Liv. l. xl. n. 5—16.

the artifices of his brother, would at laſt fall a victim to them; they thought it their intereſt to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the ſtrongeſt party. They accordingly did ſo, and devoted themſelves entirely to Perſeus.

Having poſtponed the execution of their more remote deſigns, they were of opinion that for the preſent it would be proper for them to employ their utmoſt efforts to exaſperate the king againſt the Romans, and to inſpire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the ſame time, to render Demetrius every day more ſuſpected, they induſtriouſly, on all occaſions, made the diſcourſe turn in the king's preſence upon the Romans; ſome expreſſing the utmoſt contempt for their laws and cuſtoms, others for their exploits; ſome for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for ſuch of the Romans, as were in higheſt eſtimation; making them all paſs in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the ſcope and tendency of all theſe diſcourſes, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on theſe occaſions. Hence Demetrius (without conſidering the conſequences) grew ſuſpected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accuſations and calumnies preparing againſt him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the deſigns he continually meditated againſt Rome, and unboſomed himſelf only to Perſeus.

The ambaſſadors whom he had ſent to the Baſtarnæ, to deſire aid from them, returned about the time we are now ſpeaking of. Theſe had brought with them ſeveral youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promiſed his ſiſter in marriage to one of Philip's ſons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perſeus taking advantage

advantage of this opportunity. "Of what uſe (ſays he) "can all this be to us? We have not ſo much to hope "from foreign aids, as to dread from domeſtic foes. "We harbour in our boſoms, I will not ſay a traitor, "but at leaſt a ſpy. The Romans, ever ſince he was an "hoſtage among them, have reſtored us his body; but as "to his heart and inclinations, thoſe he has left with "them. Almoſt all the Macedonians fix already their "eyes on him; and are perſuaded, that they ſhall never "have any king, but him whom the Romans ſhall "pleaſe to ſet over them." By ſuch ſpeeches, the old king's diſguſt was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a feſtival ſolemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. * A bitch, ſays Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, longways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each ſide of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the ſhining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the moſt remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal houſehold, and the companies of guards. The march is cloſed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the preſent occaſion, the two princes walked on each ſide of the king; Perſeus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age: ſons who might have formed their father's happineſs, had his mind been rightly diſpoſed and reaſonable.

The cuſtom was, after the ſacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who

* We find, in ſcripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties paſs through the parts of the victim divided. JER. xxxiv. 18.

who fought with no other arms but files, and repreſented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock-battle; all the men exerting themſelves with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been diſputing for the throne: Several were wounded on both ſides, and nothing but ſwords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the ſuperiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perſeus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accuſation againſt his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the ſoldiers of their reſpective parties. Perſeus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refuſed to come. The joy was very great on both ſides, and the gueſts drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much diſcourſe paſſed about the battle; and the gueſts intermixed their ſpeeches with jeſts and ſatirical flings (ſome of which were very ſharp) againſt thoſe of the contrary party; without ſparing even the leaders. Perſeus had ſent a ſpy to obſerve all that ſhould be ſaid at his brother's banquet: but four young perſons, who came by accident out of the hall having diſcovered this ſpy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, ſaid to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feaſt at "my brother's, to ſoften his pain (if he has any remain-"ing) by an agreeable ſurpriſe, which will ſhow that we "act with frankneſs and ſincerity; and do not harbour "any malice againſt him." Immediately all cried that they would go, thoſe excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the ſpy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither alſo, they concealed ſwords under their robes, in order to defend themſelves in caſe there ſhould be occaſion. When diſcord

reigns in families, it is impoſſible for any thing to be kept ſecret in them. A man, running haſtily before, went to Perſeus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might eaſily have gueſſed the cauſe of it, as he knew that they were the perſons who had abuſed his ſpy: Nevertheleſs, to make this action ſtill more criminal, Perſeus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the ſtreet, cried aloud to his ſervants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with deſign to aſſaſſinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refuſed admittance, returned back, and again ſat down to table; ſtill ignorant of the affair relating to Perſeus's ſpy.

The next day, as ſoon as Perſeus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued ſome time in his preſence, but at a little diſtance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly ſurpriſed at his ſilence, aſked what could be the cauſe of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is the "greateſt happineſs for me, (anſwers Perſeus) and by "the meereſt good fortune in the world that you ſee "me here alive. My brother now no longer lays ſecret "ſnares for me; he came in the night to my houſe, at "the head of a body of armed men, purpoſely to aſ-"ſaſſinate me. I had no other way left to ſecure my-"ſelf from his fury, but by ſhutting my doors, and "keeping the wall between him and me." Perſeus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and dread: "If you will con-"deſcend (ſays he) to liſten a moment to me, you ſhall "be fully acquainted with the whole ſtate of the affair." Philip anſwered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be ſent for. At the ſame time, he ſent for Lyſimachus and Onomaſtes,

maſtes, to aſk their advice on this occaſion. Theſe two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themſelves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very ſeldom at court. Philip, whilſt he waited for their coming, walked ſeveral times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his ſon Perſeus ſtanding all the time at a diſtance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards: and permitted each of his ſons to bring three perſons, unarmed, along with him; and having taking his ſeat, he ſpoke to them as follows:

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to ſit "as judge between my two ſons, one the accuſer, and "the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; "reduced to the ſad neceſſity of finding, in one of "them, either a criminal or a falſe accuſer. From "certain rumours, which long ſince reached my ears, "and an unuſual behaviour I obſerve between you (a "behaviour no way ſuiting brothers) I indeed was "afraid this ſtorm would break over my head. And "yet I hoped, from time to time, that your diſcon-"tents and diſguſts would ſoften, and your ſuſpicions "vaniſh away. I recollected, that contending kings "and princes, laying down their arms, had frequent-"ly contracted alliances and friendſhips; and that "private men had ſuppreſſed their animoſities. I "flattered myſelf, that you would one day remember "the endearing name of brethren by which you are "united; thoſe tender years of infancy which you "ſpent in ſimplicity and union; in fine, the coun-"ſels ſo often repeated by a father; counſels, which, "alas! I am afraid have been given to children deaf "and indocile to my voice. How many times, after "ſetting before you examples of the diſcord between "brothers, have I repreſented its fatal conſequences, "by ſhowing you, that they had thereby involved

"them-

" themſelves, in inevitable ruin; and not only them-
" ſelves, but their children, families, and king-
" doms? On the other ſide, I propoſed good exam-
" ples for your imitation: The ſtrict union between
" the two kings of Lacedæmonia, ſo advantageous
" during ſeveral centuries, to themſelves and their
" country: in oppoſition to diviſion and private in-
" tereſt that changed the monarchic government
" into tyranny, and proved the deſtruction of Sparta.
" By what other method, than by fraternal concord,
" did the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from
" ſuch weak beginnings as almoſt reflected diſhonour
" on the regal dignity, riſe to a pitch of power equal
" to mine, to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings
" we know of? I even did not ſcruple to cite exam-
" ples from the Romans, of which I myſelf had
" either been an eye witneſs, or heard from others:
" As the two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius,
" who both were engaged in war with me: the two
" Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who defeated and
" ſubjected Antiochus; their father and their uncle,
" who having been inſeparable during their lives,
" were undivided in death. Neither the crimes of
" the one, though attended with ſuch fatal conſe-
" quences; nor the virtues of the other, though
" crowned with ſuch happy ſucceſs, have been able
" to make you abhor diviſion and diſcord, and to in-
" ſpire you with gentle and pacific ſentiments.
" Both of you, in my life-time, have turned your
" eyes and guilty deſires upon my throne. You will
" not ſuffer me to live, till ſurviving one of you, I
" ſecure my crown to the other by my death. The
" fond names of father and brother are inſupportable
" to both. Your ſouls are ſtrangers to tenderneſs and
" love. A reſtleſs deſire of reigning has baniſhed
" all other ſentiments from your breaſts, and entirely
" engroſſes you. But come, let me hear what each
" of you have to ſay. Pollute the ears of your pa-
" rent with real or feigned accuſations. Open your
" criminal mouths; vent all your reciprocal ſlanders,

"and afterwards arm your parricide hands one "against the other. I am ready to hear all you have "to say; firmly determined to shut my ears eternally "from henceforth against the secret whispers and "accusations of brother against brother." Philip having spoken these last words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long time in a mournful silence.

At last, Perseus spoke as follows: "I perceive "plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in "the dead of night; to have admitted the assassins "into my house, and presented my throat to their "murtherous swords, since guilt is never believed; "till it has been perpetrated; and since I, who was "so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious "reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too "much reason to say, that you consider Demetrius "only as your true son; whilst unhappy I am looked "upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or "even an impostor. For, did your breast glow with "the tenderness which a father ought to have for his "child, you would not think it just to inveigh so "bitterly against me (for whose life so many snares "have been laid) but against him who contrived "them; and you would not think my life so incon-"siderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the immi-"nent danger I escaped; nor to that to which I shall "be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suf-"fered to go unpunished. If I must die without be-"ing suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so; "let me leave the world in silence, and be contented "with beseeching the gods in my expiring moments, "that the crime which was begun in my person, may "end in it, and not extend to your sacred life. But "if (what nature inspires in those, who seeing them-"selves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the "assistance even of strangers to them) I may be al-"lowed to do with regard to you on the present oc-

"casion:

" caſion: If, when I ſee ſwords drawn round me, in
" order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to vent
" forth a plaintive and ſupplicating voice; I conjure
" you by the tender, the dear name of father, (for
" which, whether my brother or I have had the great-
" eſt reverence, you yourſelf have long known) to
" liſten to me at this time, as if, awaked ſuddenly from
" your ſleep by the tumult of what paſſed laſt night,
" chance had brought you at the inſtant of my danger,
" and in the midſt of my complaints; and that you
" had found Demetrius at my door, attended by perſons
" in arms. What I ſhould have told you yeſterday, in
" the greateſt emotion, and ſeiſed with fear, I ſay to
" you now.

" Brother, it is long ſince we have not behaved to-
" wards one another, like perſons deſirous of ſharing
" in parties of pleaſure. You are fired with an inſa-
" tiable thirſt of reigning, but you find an invincible
" obſtacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient
" cuſtoms of Macedonia; and, a ſtill ſtronger cir-
" cumſtance, my father's will and pleaſure. It will
" be impoſſible for you ever to force theſe barriers,
" and to aſcend the throne, but by imbruing your
" hands in my blood. To compaſs your horrid ends,
" you employ inſtruments of all kinds, and ſet every
" engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my
" good fortune, have preſerved me from your bloody
" hands. Yeſterday, at the review, and the cere-
" mony of the tournament which followed it, the
" battle, by your contrivance, became almoſt bloody
" and fatal; and, had I not ſuffered myſelf and my
" followers to be defeated, you would have ſent me
" to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies,
" you inſidiouſly wanted (as if what had paſſed had
" been only the diverſion of brothers) to allure me
" to your feaſt. Can you ſuppoſe (royal father) that
" I ſhould have met with unarmed gueſts there, as
" thoſe very gueſts came to my palace, completely
" armed, at ſo late an hour? Can you imagine that,

" favoured

" favoured by the gloom, they would not have ſtrove " to plunge their daggers in my heart; as the ſame " perſons in open day, and before your eyes, almoſt " killed me with their wooden weapons? How! " You, who are my profeſſed enemy; you, who are " conſcious that I have ſo much reaſon to complain " of your conduct; you (I ſay) come to me in the " night, at an unſeaſonable hour, and at the head of " a company of armed young men? I did not think " it ſafe for me to go to your entertainment; and " ſhould I receive you in my houſe at a time when, " heated with the fumes of wine, you came ſo well " attended? Had I then opened my door (royal ſir) " you would be preparing to ſolemniſe my funeral, " at this very inſtant in which you vouchſafe to hear " my complaints. I do not advance any thing du- " bious, nor ſpeak barely from conjecture. For can " Demetrius deny but that he came to my houſe, at- " tended by a band of young people, and that ſome " of them were armed; I only deſire to have thoſe " whom I ſhall name ſent for. I believe them capa- " ble of any thing; but yet they cannot have the " aſſurance to deny the fact. Had I brought them " before you, after ſeiſing them armed in my houſe, " you would be fully convinced of their guilt: and " ſurely their own confeſſion ought to be a no leſs proof " of it.

" You call down imprecations and curſes upon im- " pious ſons who aſpire to your throne: this (auguſt " ſir) you have great reaſon to do: but then I beſeech " you not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at " random. Diſtinguiſh between the innocent and " the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbarous " deſign of murthering his brother, feel the dire effects " of the anger of the gods, the avengers of paternal " authority: but then let him, who by his brother's " guilt, was brought to the brink of deſtruction, find " a ſecure aſylum in his father's tenderneſs and juſtice. " For where elſe can I expect to find one: I, to whom

" neither the ceremony of the review, the ſolemnity " of the tournament, my own houſe, the feſtival, nor " the hours of night allotted by the gods to the repoſe " of man, could afford the leaſt ſecurity? If I go " to the entertainment to which my brother invites " me, I am a dead man; and it will be equally fatal " to me, if I admit him into my houſe, when he " comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid for me " wherever I tread. Death lies in ambuſh for me " wherever I move; to what place then can I fly for " ſecurity?

" I have devoted myſelf only to the gods, and to " you my royal father. I never made my court to " the Romans, and cannot have recourſe to them. " There is nothing they more earneſtly wiſh than " my ruin, becauſe I am ſo much affected with their " injuſtice to you; becauſe I am tortured to the ſoul, " and fired with indignation, to ſee you diſpoſſeſſed " of ſo many cities and dominions; and, lately, of " the maritime coaſts of Thrace. They cannot flat- " ter themſelves with the hopes of ever making them- " ſelves maſters of Macedonia as long as you or I " am in being. They are ſenſible, that, ſhould I " die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you to " the grave; or they not wait the due courſe of na- " ture; that then the king and kingdom will be at " their diſpoſal.

" Had the Romans left you the poſſeſſion of ſome " city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, " I poſſibly might have had ſome opportunity of re- " tiring to it. But, will it be anſwered, ſhall I find " a ſufficiently powerful protection in the Macedo- " nians? You yourſelf, royal father, ſaw, with what " animoſity and virulence the ſoldiers attacked me in " the battle. What was wanting, for my deſtruction " but ſwords of ſteel? However, the arms they " wanted, my brother's gueſts aſſumed in the night. " What ſhall I ſay of a great part of the principal " perſons of your court, who ground all their hopes

" on

" on the Romans, and on him who is all-powerful
" with them? They are not aſhamed to prefer him
" not only to me, who am his elder brother; but,
" I might almoſt ſay it, to you, who are our king and
" father. For they pretend it is to him you are obliged
" for the ſenate's remitting you ſome of thoſe things
" which they otherwiſe would have required: It is
" he who now checks the Romans, and prevents their
" advancing, in an hoſtile manner, into your kingdom:
" In fine, if they may be believed, your old age has
" no other refuge, but the protection which your
" young ſon procures you. On his ſide are the Ro-
" mans, on all the cities which have been diſmembered
" from your dominions, as well as all ſuch Macedo-
" nians, whoſe dependence, with regard to fortune,
" lies wholly in the Romans. But with reſpect to
" myſelf, I look upon it as glorious to have no other
" protector but my royal father, and to place all my
" hopes in him alone.

" What do you judge to be the aim and deſign of
" the letter you lately received from Quintius, in
" which he declares expreſsly, that you acted pru-
" dently for your intereſt, in ſending Demetrius to
" Rome; and, wherein he exhorts you to ſend him
" back thither, accompanied by other ambaſſadors,
" and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen?
" Quintius is now every thing with Demetrius. He
" has no other guide but his counſels, or rather his
" orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father,
" he ſeems to have ſubſtituted him in your place. It
" is in the city of Rome, and in his ſight he formed
" the ſecret and clandeſtine deſigns which will ſoon
" break out into action. It is merely to have the
" better opportunity of putting them in execution,
" that Quintius orders you to ſend along with Deme-
" trius a greater number of the Macedonian nobility.
" They ſet out from this country with the moſt ſin-
" cere attachment to your perſon and intereſt: but,
" won by the gracious treatment they meet with in

" that

" that city, they return from it entirely corrupted " and debauched by different ſentiments. Demetrius " is all in all with them: they even preſume, in " your life-time, to give him the title of king. If I " appear ſhocked at this conduct, I have the grief to " ſee not only others, but yourſelf (my royal father) " charge me with the horrid deſign of aſpiring to your " throne. Should this accuſation be levelled at us " both, I am conſcious of my own innocence, and " it cannot in any manner affect me. For who, in " that caſe, ſhould I diſpoſſeſs, to ſeiſe upon what " would be another's right; there is no one but my " father between me and the throne, and I beſeech " the gods that he may long continue ſo. In caſe I " ſhould happen to ſurvive him (and this I would not " wiſh, but ſo long as he ſhould deſire it) I ſhall " ſucceed him in the kingdom, if it be his good plea- " ſure. HE may be accuſed of aſpiring to the throne, " and of aſpiring in the moſt unjuſt and criminal " manner, who is impatient to break the order and " bounds preſcribed by age, by nature, by the uſages " and cuſtoms of Macedonia, and by the law of " nations. My elder brother," ſays Demetrius to himſelf, " to whom the kingdom belongs both by " the right of ſeniority, and my father's will, is an " obſtacle to my ambitious views.——What then " muſt be done?—I muſt diſpatch him.—I ſhall not " be the firſt who has waded through a brother's " blood to the throne. My father in years, and " without ſupport, will be too much afraid for his " own life to meditate revenge for his ſon's death. " The Romans will be greatly pleaſed to ſee me on " the throne; they will approve my conduct, and be " able to ſupport me—I own (moſt gracious father) " theſe projects may all be defeated, but I am ſure " they are not without foundation. In a word, I " reduce all to this: It is in your power to ſecure my " life, by bringing to condign puniſhment, thoſe " who yeſterday armed to aſſaſſinate me: but, ſhould

" their

" their guilt take effect, it will not be in your power " to revenge my death."

As ſoon as Perſeus had ended his ſpeech, all the company caſt their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to anſwer immediately. But that young prince, being quite oppreſſed with ſorrow, ſhedding floods of tears, and ſeeming unable to ſpeak, a long ſilence enſued. At laſt, being preſſed to anſwer, he made his grief give way to neceſſity, and ſpoke as follows:

" Perſeus (royal ſir) by accuſing me in your pre- " ſence, and by ſhedding fictitious tears to move you " to compaſſion, has made you ſuſpect mine, which, " alas! are but too ſincere; and by that means de- " prived me of all the advantages the accuſed gene- " rally have. Ever ſince my return from Rome, he " has been day and night laying ſnares for me, in ſe- " cret cabals with his creatures; and yet he repre- " ſents me to you, not only as laying hidden am- " buſcades to deſtroy him, but attacking him by open " force, and perſons in arms. He endeavours to " alarm you by the pretended dangers which ſurround " him, in hopes that you will put to death his inno- " cent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, " no aſylum left, with deſign to prevent my finding " one in your clemency and juſtice. In the ſolitary " and abandoned ſtate to which I ſee myſelf reduced, " quite friendleſs and unprotected, he ſtrives to make " me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign cre- " dit and ſupport, which are rather a prejudice than a " ſervice to me.

" Obſerve, I beſeech you, with what inſidious art " he has blended and confounded the tranſactions of " laſt night with every other circumſtance of my life: " and this in a double view, firſt to raiſe a ſuſpicion " in you of my conduct in general from this laſt ac- " tion, the innocence of which will ſoon be evident; " and ſecondly, to ſupport, by this idle ſtory of a noc- " turnal attack, his equally idle accuſation, of my

" harbouring

" harbouring criminal views, hopes, and pretenſions.
" At the ſame time he has endeavoured to ſhow, that
" this accuſation was not premeditated or prepared;
" but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with
" which he was ſeized, occaſioned by laſt night's tu-
" mult. But, Perſeus, if I had attempted to betray
" my father and his kingdom; had I engaged in con-
" ſpiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies
" of the ſtate, you ought not to have waited for the
" opportunity of the fictitious ſtory of laſt night's
" tranſaction, but ſhould have impeached me before
" this time of ſuch treaſon. If the charge of treaſon
" when ſeparated from the other, was altogether im-
" probable, and could ſerve to no other purpoſe but
" to prove how much you envy me, and not to evi-
" dence my guilt; you ought not to have mentioned
" it now, but ſhould have poſtponed the charge to
" another time; and have examined now this queſtion
" only, whether you laid ſnares for me, or I for you.
" I nevertheleſs will endeavour, as far as the confu-
" ſion into which this ſudden and unforeſeen accuſa-
" tion has thrown me will permit, to ſeparate and
" diſtinguiſh what you have thrown together indiſcri-
" minately; and to ſhow whether you or myſelf ought
" in juſtice to be accuſed of dealing treacherouſly laſt
" night.

" Perſeus aſſerts, that I harboured a deſign to aſ-
" ſaſſinate him, in order that, by the death of my
" elder brother, to whom the crown appertains by
" the right of nations, by the cuſtoms of Macedonia,
" and even, as he pretends, by your determination;
" I, though the younger ſon, might ſucceed to the
" throne. To what purpoſe therefore is that other
" part of his ſpeech, where he declares, that I have
" been particularly ſtudious to ingratiate myſelf with
" the Romans, and flattered myſelf with the hopes of
" being able to aſcend the throne by their aſſiſtance?
" For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough
" to beſtow the kingdom of Macedon on whomſoever
" they

"they pleaſed; and if I relied ſo much on my credit "and authority with them, why ſhould I commit a "fratricide of no advantage to myſelf? What! "ſhould I have affected to ſurround my temples with "a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that "I might become odious and execrable, even to thoſe "with whom I had acquired ſome authority (admit-"ting I have ſome credit with them) by a probity "either real or diſſembled? Unleſs you can ſuppoſe "that Quintius, whoſe counſel I am accuſed of fol-"lowing (he, I ſay, who lives in ſo delightful an "union with his brother) ſuggeſted to me the horrid "deſign of embruing my hands in my brother's blood. "Perſeus has ſummoned up all the advantages, by "which (as he would inſinuate) I can promiſe myſelf "a ſuperority over him, ſuch as the credit of the "Romans, the ſuffrages of the Macedonians, and "the almoſt univerſal conſent of gods and men; and "yet he, at the ſame time (as if I was inferior to him "in all reſpects) charges me with having recourſe to "an expedient which none but the blackeſt villains "could employ. Will you, gracious ſir, have us "judged upon this principle and rule, that whichſo-"ever of us two was apprehenſive that the other "would be judged more worthy of the diadem, ſhall "be declared to have formed the deſign of murthering "his brother?

"But let us come to facts, and examine the order "and plan of the criminal enterpriſe with which I am "charged. Perſeus pretends to have been attacked "in different manners, all which are however included "within the ſpace of one day. I attempted (as he "ſays) to murther him in broad day-light, in the "battle which followed the ſacred ceremony of the "review. I had determined to poiſon him at an en-"tertainment to which I had invited him; in fine, I "reſolved to attack him with open force, in the dead "of night, attended by armed perſons to a party of "pleaſure at his houſe.

"You

" You ſee, ſir, the ſeaſon I had choſen to commit " this fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of " pleaſure. How venerable and ſolemn was this day! " a day on which the army is reviewed, on which " the reſplendent arms of all the Macedonian mo- " narchs are carried in the front of the proceſſion; on " which it paſſes through the two parts of the ſacred " victim; and on which we have the honour to march " with you, at the head of the whole Macedonian " people. What! though purified by this auguſt ſa- " crifice, from all faults I might before have com- " mitted; having before my eyes the ſacred victim " through which we paſſed, was my mind intent upon " fratricides, poiſons, and daggers! Defiled in ſuch a " manner by crimes of the moſt horrid nature, by " what ceremonies, by what victims, would it have " been poſſible for me to purify myſelf?

" It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a " blind paſſion to calumniate and deſtroy me, in his " endeavour to make every thing ſuſpected, and a " crime in me, betrays and contradicts himſelf. For " (brother) had I formed the abominable deſign of " poiſoning you at my table, what could be more ill " judged than to exaſperate you, and to put you upon " your guard by an obſtinate battle, in which I ſhould " have diſcovered that I had deſigns of violence againſt " you; and by that means, have prevented your " coming to an entertainment to which I had invited " you, and at which you accordingly refuſed to be " preſent? But ſurely, after ſuch a refuſal, ſhould I " not have endeavoured to reconcile myſelf to you; " and, as I had reſolved to take you off by poiſon, " ought I not to have ſought another opportunity for " giving you the fatal draught? Was it natural for " me to change ſuddenly (in one day) my barbarous " deſign, and to attempt to aſſaſſinate you, upon pre- " tence of going to your houſe on a party of pleaſure? " Could I reaſonably flatter myſelf with the hopes " (taking it for granted that the fear of your being

" murthered

" murthered had made you refuſe to come to my en-
" tertainment) that the ſame fear would induce you to
" refuſe me admittance into your houſe?

" I preſume, ſir, I may confeſs to you without
" bluſhing, that in a day of feſtivity and rejoicing,
" happening to be in company with ſome people of
" the ſame age with myſelf, I drank more plentifully
" than uſual. Inquire, I beſeech you, how we
" ſpent our time at the feaſt, how full of mirth we
" were, how tranſported with thoughtleſs gaiety, very
" much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiſcreet
" joy, for the victory we had gained in the tourna-
" ment. It is the ſad condition of an unforeſeen
" accuſation; it is the danger in which I now ſee my-
" ſelf involved, that have diſpelled but too eaſily the
" fumes of wine, otherwiſe, a calm aſſaſſin, my eyes
" had ſtill been cloſed in ſlumbers. Had I formed
" a reſolution to attack your houſe with the view
" of murthering you, would it not have been poſſible
" for me to abſtain, for one day, from immoderate
" drinking, and to keep my companions from the like
" exceſs?

" But, that it may not be thought that I, only,
" act with frankneſs and ſimplicity, let us hear my
" brother, whoſe conduct is ſincere and undiſguiſed,
" and who does not harbour the leaſt ſuſpicion. All
" ſays he, that I know, and the only thing I have
" to complain of, is, that they came armed to my
" houſe, upon pretence of engaging in a party of
" pleaſure. Should I aſk you how you came to know
" this, you will be forced to own, either that my
" houſe was filled with ſpies ſent by you, or elſe that
" my attendants had taken up arms in ſo open a man-
" ner, that every one knew of it. What does my
" brother do? That he may not ſeem to have for-
" merly watched all my motions; nor, at this time
" to ground his accuſation merely on ſuppoſitions,
" he beſeeches you to inquire of thoſe whom he ſhall
" name, whether people did not come armed to his
" houſe;

" houſe; in order that (as if this were a doubtful " circumſtance) after this inquiry into an incident " which they themſelves own and confeſs, they may " be conſidered as legally convicted. But this is the " queſtion: Why do not you deſire an inquiry to " be made whether they took up arms to aſſaſſinate " you, and if they did it with my knowledge, and at " my requeſt? For it is this you pretend; and not " what they themſelves own publicly, and which " is very manifeſt, that they took up arms in no other " view but to defend themſelves. Whether they had " or had not reaſon to arm themſelves, that they are " to inform you. Do not blend and confound my " cauſe with theirs, for they are quite diſtinct and " ſeparate. Only tell us, whether we really intend- " ed to attack you openly or by ſurpriſe. If openly, " why did we not all take up arms? Why were " thoſe only armed who had inſulted your ſpy? In " caſe it was to have been by ſurpriſe, in what manner " would the attack have been made? Would it have " been at the end of the feaſt in your houſe, and after " I had left it with my company, would the four " men in queſtion have ſtaid behind, to have fallen " upon you when aſleep. How would it have been " poſſible for them, as they were ſtrangers, in my " ſervice, to conceal themſelves in your houſe; and " as they could not be very much ſuſpected, having " been ſeen but a few hours before engaged in the " quarrel? Again, ſuppoſing they had found an " opportunity to murther you, in what manner " could they have eſcaped? Could four men armed, " have been able to make themſelves maſters of your " houſe?

" But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come " to what really pains you, and which you have ſo " much at heart: For what reaſon (methinks I hear " my brother ſay) wherefore (O Demetrius) do the " people talk of making you king? Why do ſome

" perſons

" perſons thing you more worthy than I, of ſucceed-
" ing our father? Why do you make my hopes
" doubtful and uncertain, which, were it not for
" you, would have been eſtabliſhed on the moſt ſolid
" foundation? Such are the reflections which Per-
" ſeus revolves in his mind, though he does not ex-
" preſs himſelf in this manner: It is this raiſes his
" enmity againſt me, and prompts him to charge me
" with ſuch horrid attempts: It is this fills the palace
" and every part of the kingdom, with ſuſpicions and
" accuſations. If it does not become me, Sir, ſo
" much as to hope the ſcepter, nor perhaps ever to think
" of conteſting it, becauſe it is your will and pleaſure
" that I ſhould yield to my elder brother; it does not
" follow that I ought to make myſelf appear unwor-
" thy of it, either to * you (my royal father) or to
" all the Macedonians: a circumſtance which nothing
" but my ill conduct could occaſion. I can indeed,
" through moderation, reſign it to whom it belongs;
" but I cannot prevail with myſelf to renounce my
" virtue and good name.

" You reproach me with the affection of the Ro-
" mans, and impute that to me for a crime which
" ought to be my glory. I did not deſire to be ſent
" to Rome, neither as an hoſtage at firſt, nor after-
" wards as ambaſſador: This, Sir, you yourſelf very
" well know. When you ordered me to go thither,
" I obeyed your commands; and I believe my con-
" duct and behaviour were ſuch, as cannot reflect
" the leaſt diſhonour either on yourſelf, your crown,
" or the Macedonian nation. It is therefore your-
" ſelf, Sir, that occaſioned the friendſhip I have con-
" tracted with the Romans. So long as you ſhall be
" at peace with them, ſo long our friendſhip will ſub-
" ſiſt: but the moment the trumpet ſounds for war,
" though I have been an hoſtage among them, and

* Inſtead of *indignus te patre*, Gronovius reads, *indignus tibi pater*; which ſeems to agree better with the context.

" exercised the functions of an ambassador in such a " manner as perhaps has not been disadvantageous to " my father; from that moment, I say, I shall de- " clare myself their enemy. I do not desire to reap " any benefit on the present occasion, from the love " which the Romans have for me; all I intreat is, " that it may not be of prejudice to me. It was not " begun in war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As " an hostage and an ambassador peace was my only " object: let that be neither considered in me as a " crime or a merit.

" If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I " owe you, Sir: if I have formed any criminal en- " terprise against my brother, let me be punished as I " deserve; but, if I am innocent, this I claim; that " as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may " not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time " that my brother has charged me with harbouring " horrid designs; but it is the first time he has at- " tempted to do it openly, though without the least " foundation. Was my father exasperated against me, " it would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to in- " tercede for the younger brother; to solicit his par- " don, to intreat that some regard might be shown " to his youth; and that a fault, which had been " committed merely through inadvertency, might be " over-looked. My ruin comes from that very quar- " ter, whence I might naturally have expected my " safety.

" Though not quite awake, after the feast and " party of pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sud- " den, to answer a charge of fratricide; and am " forced to plead my own cause, unassisted by coun- " sellors, and unsupported by the advice or credit of " a single person. Had I been to speak in favour of " another, I should have taken time to prepare and " compose my discourse; and yet, on such an occa- " sion, my reputation only would have laid at stake, " and I should have had nothing to do but to display

" my

"my wit and eloquence.——At this inſtant, without "knowing the cauſe for which I am ordered to ap- "pear in this place, I hear an offended father, com- "manding me to make my defence; and a brother "charging me with the moſt horrid crimes. Perſeus "has had all the time he could deſire to prepare his "accuſation, whilſt unhappy I did not ſo much as "know what the buſineſs was, till the very inſtant "the accuſation was brought againſt me. In this "rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my "accuſer, than ſtudious of my own apology? Sur- "priſed by a ſudden and unforeſeen accuſation, I "could ſcarce comprehend what was laid to my "charge, ſo far from being able to know how to "make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could "I have left, did I not know that it is my royal fa- "ther who is to judge? He may ſhow a greater af- "fection for my brother, as the elder; but he owes "more compaſſion to me, as being the party accuſed: "I myſelf conjure you to preſerve my life for your "own ſake and mine; whereas Perſeus inſiſts upon "your ſacrificing me to his ſafety. What may you "not naturally expect from him when you ſhall once "have inveſted him with your authority, as he now "demands your favour in preference to me, at no leſs "a price than my blood!"

Whilſt Demetrius defended himſelf in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep ſighs, and groans intermixed with tears. Philip, diſmiſſing both of them for a moment, adviſed with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: "I will not pronounce ſentence on this affair, from "mere words and a few tranſient ſpeeches, but from "the inquiry I ſhall make into your conduct; from "your behaviour in ſmall as well as great things, "and from your words as well as actions." This judgment ſhowed plain enough, that although De- metrius had cleared himſelf with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Phi-

lip however ſuſpected him from his union with the Romans. Theſe were in a manner the firſt ſparks of the war, that appeared in Philip's life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perſeus his ſucceſſor.

[g] The king, ſome time after, ſent Philocles and Apelles as his ambaſſadors to Rome, not ſo much with the deſign of employing them in any negotiation, as to inquire how the inhabitants of that city ſtood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to inquire ſecretly into what he had ſaid there, (particularly to Quintius) with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne. Philip imagined that theſe two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perſeus's adherents, and had engaged in his conſpiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was tranſacting (his brother's accuſation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father: eſpecially when he found that his brother had ſo ordered matters, that he could not have the leaſt acceſs to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to ſhun all occaſions of ſuſpicion and envy. He avoided ſpeaking of the Romans, or holding the leaſt correſpondence with them, even by letter, knowing it was this that chiefly incenſed the Macedonians againſt him. He ought to have taken theſe precautions ſooner: but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and ſincere in all things, and judged of others from himſelf, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whoſe intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus, the Black ſea and the Adriatick, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be diſcovered, was curious to have an ocular demonſtration of it; imagining that this proſpect might be of ſome ſervice to the deſign he meditated,

[g] A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. 49. n. 20—24.

meditated, of making Italy the ſeat of war. He only took Perſeus with him, and ſent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to eſcort him. This governor was a creature of Perſeus, who had taught him his leſſon perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to inſinuate himſelf as artfully as poſſible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to diſcover all his ſecrets.

Didas executed his commiſſion but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius ſaid, lamented his ill fate, ſeemed to deteſt the injuſtice and inſincerity of his enemies, who repreſented him, on all occaſions, in the moſt odious light to his father; and offered to ſerve him to the utmoſt, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at laſt reſolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means, (for it was neceſſary to paſs through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I obſerved above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his deſign to him. Didas, without loſs of time, ſent advice of this to Perſeus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpreſſible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his inquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expoſe ſo ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public; rather than becauſe they had ſeen, from one and the ſame ſpot, rivers, ſeas, and mountains, at ſo vaſt a diſtance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the ſiege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Heredotus, Demetrius's boſom-friend, was ſeized, and ſtrict orders were given, to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip,

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his "son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions "which might have escaped him, with respect to the "succession to the crown; assuring him that he would "not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of "blood and nature." He concluded with observing, "that it was never in his thoughts to give him such "counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Heredotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Pæonia; and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty,

cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

[h] Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king; and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought; and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints,

[h] A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. Liv. l. 40. n. 54—57.

* He was surnamed Doson.

complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves ſome footſteps, by which it may be diſcerned, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to trace out the ſecret intrigues of Perſeus's conſpiracy.

The perſons who had the greateſt concern in that black affair, and of whom the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been ſent ambaſſadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved ſo fatal to the young prince. It was generally whiſpered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but ſtill this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of ſecretary of the embaſſy, happened upon ſome occaſion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arreſt, cauſed him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a ſtrong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined (ſays "he) royal ſir, from ſeveral things I have heard you "ſay, that nothing could give you greater pleaſure, "than to know exactly what idea you ought to en- "tertain of your two ſons; and to diſcover which "of them it was that made an attempt on the other's "life. You now have in your power, the man "who is beſt able to give you a perfect account of "that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now "in your palace, and you may command him to be "ſent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he firſt denied every thing: but he ſpoke ſo very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full diſcovery, upon being ever ſo little intimidated. Accordingly, the inſtant that the officer of juſtice appeared, he made a full confeſſion, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambaſſadors, and the ſhare he himſelf had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was ſeized; but Apelles, who was abſent, hearing that Xychus had made a full diſcovery, fled to Italy. Hiſtory does not inform us

of

of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having refolutely denied the charge at firſt, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other hiſtorians, he bore the torture with the utmoſt fortitude, and aſſerted his innocence to the laſt gaſp. All theſe things only revived the ſorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered ſon, or to him who was ſtill living.

Perſeus being informed that his whole plot had been diſcovered, knew too well his own power and credit to believe it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf by flight. The only precaution he took was, a reſolution to keep at a diſtance from court, as long as his father ſhould live, in order to withdraw himſelf from his reſentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to ſeize Perſeus, and bring him to condign puniſhment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he ſent for Antigonus, to whoſe great care he owed the diſcovery of the conſpiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his perſonal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced, ſays Philip, to the deplorable "neceſſity of wiſhing that my fate, which other fa- "thers deteſt as the moſt dreadful calamity that can "befal them (the being childleſs;) I now am re- "ſolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I "owe to the guardianſhip of your uncle; and which "he not only preſerved by his fidelity, but enlarged "conſiderably by his valour. I know no man worthy "of the crown but yourſelf. And were there none "capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely "rather it ſhould be loſt for ever, than that Perſeus "ſhould have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. "Methinks I ſhall ſee Demetrius riſe from the ſe-

" pulchre, and reſtored to his father, if I can be ſo " happy as to ſubſtitute you in his place; you, who " only bewailed the untimely death of my dear ſon, " and the unhappy credulity which proved his de- " ſtruction."

After this, he beſtowed the higheſt honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the moſt advantageous light to the public. Whilſt Perſeus reſided in Thrace, Philip made a progreſs through ſeveral cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction, with the utmoſt zeal and affection: and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in poſſeſſion of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a conſiderable ſtay in Theſſalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerouſly ill. The phyſicians declared, that his ſickneſs proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he ſaw, in the dead of night, the ghoſt of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curſes on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his ſons with a ſhower of tears, and venting the moſt horrid imprecations againſt the other. Antigonus might have been raiſed to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the phyſician, who preſided in all the conſultations, did not ſtay till the king had breathed his laſt; but the very inſtant he ſaw that it was impoſſible for him to recover, he diſpatched couriers to Perſeus; it having been agreed between them that he ſhould keep ſome in readineſs for that purpoſe; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perſeus appeared, whoſe ſudden arrival ſurpriſed all people. He then took poſſeſſion of the crown, which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four laſt of which were employed in war againſt the Romans, for which

he made preparations from his acceſſion to the throne. At laſt, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the ſeries of Perſeus's hiſtory, which has ſcarce any connection with that of the other kings, I ſhall refer it to the following Book, where it ſhall be related at large and without interruption.

SECT. II. *The Death of Selucus Philopator, whoſe reign was ſhort and obſcure. He is ſucceeded by his brother Antiochus, ſurnamed Epiphanes. Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The Conqueror poſſeſſes himſelf of Egypt, and takes the king priſoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Paleſtine; beſieges and takes Jeruſalem, where he exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who was Antiochus's priſoner, raiſe to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Evergetes, ſirnamed alſo Phyſcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay ſiege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambaſſadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to moleſt the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Aſia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the ſecond book of [c] Maccabees. The holy city of Jeruſalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-prieſt, inſpired by a ſpirit of piety, cauſed the laws of GOD to be ſtrictly obſerved there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the higheſt veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furniſhed, from his own private

[c] 2 Maccab. iii.

private revenues, all that was neceſſary for the ſolemnization of the ſacrifices. Nevertheleſs, the perfidy of a Jew called Simon, governor of the temple, raiſed on a ſudden a great diſorder in the city. This man, to revenge himſelf of the oppoſition which Onias the high-prieſt made to his unjuſt enterpriſes, informed the king that there were immenſe treaſures in the temple, which were not deſigned for the ſervice of the ſacrifices, and that he might ſeize upon them all. The king, on this information, ſent Heliodorus his firſt miniſter to Jeruſalem, with orders to carry off all thoſe treaſures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-prieſt with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and aſked him whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treaſure, was true. The high-prieſt told him, that theſe treaſures were only depoſited there as in truſt, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner diſpoſe of them in wrong of thoſe to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not ſecure them better, than by depoſiting them in a temple, the holineſs of which was revered throughout the whole univerſe. This treaſure conſiſted of four hundred talents of ſilver (about fifty thouſand pounds ſterling) and in two hundred talents of gold (three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.) However, the miniſter ſent from the prince, inſiſting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the conſequence, muſt all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the reſolution to execute his commiſſion. Immediately the whole city was ſeized with the utmoſt terror. The prieſts dreſſed in their ſacerdotal veſtments, fell proſtrate at the foot of the altar; beſeeching the GOD of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to depoſites,

to

to preſerve thoſe laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly beſought the Creator upon their knees, not to ſuffer ſo holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with ſackcloth, were ſeen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a ſpectacle truly worthy of compaſſion, to ſee ſuch multitudes, and eſpecially the high-prieſt, pierced with the deepeſt affliction, upon account of ſo impious a ſacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treaſury, and preparing to break it open. But the * ſpirit of the Almighty now revealed itſelf by the moſt ſenſible marks; inſomuch that all thoſe who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were ſtruck down by a divine power, and ſeized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horſe richly capariſoned, which ruſhing at once upon Heliodorus, ſtruck him ſeveral times with his fore-feet. The man who ſat on this horſe had a terrible aſpect, and his arms ſeemed of gold. At the ſame time were ſeen two young men whoſe beauty dazzled the eye, and who, ſtanding on each ſide of Heliodorus, ſcourged him inceſſantly, and in the moſt violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horſe, was taken up, and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to ſuccour him; and that, becauſe the power of GOD had diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. By the ſame power he was caſt to the ground ſpeechleſs, and without ſhowing the leaſt ſign of life; whilſt the temple, which before reſounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the ſhouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raiſed the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But

* *Sed ſpiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit ſuæ oſtentationis evidentiam.*

But now, some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high priest to invoke GOD in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to "Onias the high-priest; for it is for his sake that the "LORD has granted you life. After having been "scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world "his miraculous power." Having spoken these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered: "In case you have any enemy, or any traitorous wretch "who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, "and you will see him return back quite flead with "scourging, and he perhaps may die under it. For "he who inhabiteth the heavens is himself present in "that place: he is the guardian and protector of it; "and he strikes those mortally who go thither to in-"jure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great, having, after his defeat at Sypilis, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. [k] He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing;) and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age to Rome, as an hostage

[k] Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

hoſtage in Antiochus's room. [l] During the abſence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it; Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, ſeiſe upon it, by taking off Seleucus, and accordingly he poiſoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the propheſy of Daniel. After ſpeaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, [m] "Then ſhall ſtand up in his eſtate a raiſer of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days * he ſhall be deſtroyed, neither in anger nor in battle." Theſe few words denote evidently the ſhort and obſcure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out ſtill more clearly. "There ſhall ariſe up in his place" of Antiochus "a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, ſhall cauſe to paſs away, and *ſhall deſtroy* the glory of the kingdom." And indeed, this was the ſole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furniſh the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thouſand † talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

[n] Antiochus, afterwards ſirnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told that the uſurper had a very ſtrong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whoſe claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's ſiſter. Antiochus had recourſe to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who ſeated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verſe 21 of chapter xi, to the end of chapter xii, foretels every thing that was

[l] A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. [m] Dan. xi. 20.
[n] Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan.
* The Hebrew word may ſignify either *days* or *years*.
† About 150,000l.

was to befal Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel perſecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elſewhere by the [o] "little horn which was to iſſue out of one of the four *large* horns." I ſhall explain this propheſy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verſe 21.) the prophet deſcribes his acceſſion to the throne. "And in his," Seleucus's, "eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." Antiochus's conduct ſhall ſhow how *vile* he was. It is ſaid, "that to him they ſhall not give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a ſon who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having ſet it on his head. Being returned from the weſt *peaceably (or rather ſecretly)* to ſurpriſe his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a ſpecious appearance of clemency.

[p] He aſſumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is *illuſtrious*, which title was never worſe applied. The whole ſeries of his life will ſhow, that he deſerved much more that of *Epimanes (mad* or *furious)* which ſome people gave him.

Some circumſtances related of him prove how juſtly the epithet *vile* is beſtowed upon him in ſcripture. He uſed frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domeſtics, and ramble up and down the ſtreets of Antioch. He would ſpend his time in talking with goldſmiths and engravers in their ſhops, and in diſputing with them on the moſt minute particulars relating to the arts they profeſſed, and which he ridiculouſly boaſted he underſtood as well as they. He would very often ſtoop ſo low as to converſe with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiſcriminately with them in the places where they were aſſembled. On theſe occaſions he would ſit and drink

[o] Dan. viii. 9. [p] Athen. l. 5. p. 193.

drink with foreigners of the meaneſt condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleaſure between young people, he uſed to go (without ſaying a word to any perſon) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouſe and ſing with them, without obſerving the leaſt order or decorum. He ſometimes would take it into his head to diveſt himſelf of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from ſtreet to ſtreet, as he had ſeen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He aſked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another, and ſometimes would ſet up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himſelf elected, he would call for the Curule chair,* when ſeating himſelf in it, he judged the petty ſuits relating to contracts of buying or ſelling, and pronouncing ſentence with as much ſerioufneſs and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmoſt importance. We are likewiſe told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he ſquandered away a great part of his revenues in exceſs and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently ſcower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *catch as catch can.* At other times, he would leave his palace (dreſſed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roſes on his head) and walk without attendants about the ſtreets; on which occaſions, if any perſon offered to follow him, he uſed to pelt him with ſtones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe, for that purpoſe. He uſed often to go and bathe himſelf in the public baths with the common people, where he committed ſuch extravagances, as made every body deſpiſe him. After what has been ſaid (and I omit a great many other particulars) I ſubmit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magiſtrates.

did not merit the title of *ſenſeleſs*, rather than that of *illuſtrious*.

[q] Scarce was Antiochus well ſeated on the throne, but Jaſon, brother of Onias the Jewiſh high-prieſt, having formed a deſign to ſupplant his brother, offered that prince, ſecretly, three hundred and ſixty talents (about ninety thouſand pounds ſterling) beſides eighty more (about twelve thouſand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he ſhould appoint him high-prieſt. He ſucceeded in his negociation; and accordingly Onias, who was univerſally revered for his ſtrict piety and juſtice, was depoſed, and Jaſon eſtabliſhed in his room. The latter ſubverted entirely the religion of his anceſtors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewiſh nation, as appears from the ſecond book of the Maccabees, and Joſephus.

[r] In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, ſiſter of Antiochus Epiphanes, had aſſumed the regency, and the tuition of her young ſon; and had acquitted herſelf with the greateſt care and prudence. But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great diſtinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to ſuperintend the king's education. Theſe were no ſooner in their employments, but they ſent a deputation to demand Cœloſyria and Paleſtine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very ſoon after occaſioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra who was mother of one of theſe kings, and ſiſter to the other, had prevented them as long as ſhe lived, from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not ſhew ſo much regard for Antiochus, nor ſcruple to demand of him what they believed their ſovereign's right. [s] It is certain that the Egyptian monarchs had always poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of theſe provinces from the firſt Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great diſpoſſeſſed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus

q A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv. r A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan. s Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii—lxxxii.

Seleucus his ſon with no other right than that of conqueſt. They had deſcended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretenſions, declared, that, in the laſt diviſion of the empire between the four ſucceſſors of Alexander, who poſſeſſed themſelves of all countries after the battle of Iſſus, theſe provinces had been aſſigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himſelf, and his ſucceſſors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to diſpoſſeſs Egypt of thoſe provinces: that this prince had ſtipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to reſtore to him at the ſame time thoſe provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied both theſe facts, and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general diviſion which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cœloſyria and Paleſtine) had been aſſigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that conſequently they belonged juſtly to the prince in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back thoſe provinces, he aſſerted, that it was an abſolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reaſons on both ſides, without coming to any concluſion, they found it neceſſary to decide their pretenſions by force of arms.

[t] Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the ſolemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian cuſtom. Antiochus ſent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of Ambaſſador, to be preſent on that occaſion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to

[t] 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

to diſcover, if poſſible, the deſigns of that court with reſpect to the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, as well as what meaſures were taking with regard to them. The inſtant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by ſea to Joppa, viſited the frontiers of the country; and put it into a condition of defending itſelf againſt all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progreſs, he took Jeruſalem in his way. Jaſon and the whole city received him there with the greateſt pomp and magnificence. Notwithſtanding the honours paid him in Jeruſalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewiſh nation. From Jeruſalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having ſettled all things in every place through which he paſſed, he returned to Antioch.

"The ſame Apollonius had been ſent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embaſſy. He made excuſes to the ſenate for his maſter's having ſent the tribute later than was ſtipulated by the treaty. Beſides the ſum due, he made a preſent to the people of ſeveral golden vaſes. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendſhip, which had been granted his father ſhould be renewed with him; and deſired that the Romans would give him ſuch orders as ſuited a king, who valued himſelf on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his ſovereign could never forget the great favours he had received from the ſenate; from all the youths of Rome; and from perſons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hoſtage, but as a monarch. The ſenate made an obliging anſwer to theſe ſeveral particulars, and diſmiſſed Apollonius, with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and laden with preſents. It was well known, from the Roman ambaſſadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much eſteemed by

[u] Liv. l. xl. n. 6.

by the king, and had the higheſt regard for the Romans.

[x] Jaſon, the year following, ſent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negociate ſome other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, inſtead of confining himſelf to the orders of his commiſſion, ſupplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave riſe to tumults, diſorders, murders, and ſacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was univerſally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though ſo very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign puniſhment. I make only a tranſient mention of theſe facts, and omit the principal circumſtances of them, becauſe they belong properly to the hiſtory of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only ſuch particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in ſuch a manner as to preſerve their beauty.

[y] Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he ſaw himſelf threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; finding himſelf in a condition to begin it, reſolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but ſixteen, and was governed entirely by weak miniſters, he ſhould be able to bring him to what terms he pleaſed. He was perſuaded that the Romans, under whoſe protection the Egyptians had put themſelves, were engaged in ſo many affairs, that it would be impoſſible for them to give the latter the leaſt ſuccour; and

[x] A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.
[y] A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi, lxxii. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron in Daniel.

and that the war they were carrying on againſt Perſeus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leiſure for it. In a word, he thought the preſent juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of thoſe provinces.

In the mean time, to obſerve meaſures with the Romans, he ſent ambaſſadors to the ſenate to repreſent the right he had to the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, of which he was actually poſſeſſed, and the neceſſity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the ſupport of them; immediately after which he put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Caſius and Peluſium; and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made ſo good an uſe of his ſucceſs, that he put the frontier in a condition to ſerve as a barrier, and to check the utmoſt efforts the Egyptians might make to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into Egypt: after which without engaging in any other enterpriſe that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

[z] During his ſtay there, three perſons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jeruſalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his preſence of impiety and ſacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the requeſt of Ptolemy Macron, one of his miniſters in the intereſt of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as falſe witneſſes; "an action," ſays the author of the Maccabees, [a] "ſo very unjuſt, that, before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent." The Tyrians, touched with compaſſion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

[b] This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the iſland of Cyprus, under king Ptolemy

z A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50. a 2 Maccab. iv. 47. b Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

lemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the miniſters, though they made the warmeſt inſtances upon that head; but had conſtantly refuſed to regard them, from juſtly ſuſpecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treaſure to Alexandria, and depoſited it in the exchequer. A rare inſtance of a noble diſregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his diſpoſal! So conſiderable a ſum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exaſperated at ſome ill treatment he met with from the miniſters, or at his not having been rewarded for ſo important a ſervice, he rebelled againſt Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's ſervice, and delivered up the iſland of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite ſatisfaction, took him into the number of his confidents, made him governor of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; and ſent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the caſtle at Jeruſalem under Soſtratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

[c] Antiochus ſpent the whole winter in making freſh preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt; and, the inſtant the ſeaſon would permit it, invaded that country both by ſea and land. Ptolemy had raiſed a very conſiderable army, but without ſucceſs; for Antiochus gained a ſecond battle on the frontiers, took the city of Peluſium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this laſt defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have ſuffered a ſingle man to eſcape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, inſtead of making uſe of the advantage he had gained, he himſelf rode up and down on all ſides, and

[c] 2 Mac. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 311.

and obliged his ſoldiers to diſcontinue the ſlaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their ſubmiſſion to him; ſo that he ſoon took Memphis and all the reſt of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out againſt him.

Philometor was either taken, or elſe ſurrendered himſelf to Antiochus, who ſet him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, ſeemingly, in great friendſhip; and, for ſome time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the intereſts of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But when he had once poſſeſſed himſelf of the country, under that pretext he ſeized what ever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himſelf, as well as his ſoldiers, with the ſpoils of the Egyptians.

[d] Philometor made a miſerable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as poſſible from danger, and had not even ſhown himſelf to thoſe who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he ſubmit himſelf to Antiochus, by whom he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of ſo fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preſerve it! This, however, was not ſo much owing to want of courage, and natural capacity (for he afterwards gave proofs of both) as the effect of his ſoft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who alſo was his prime miniſter, had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs, and to make himſelf as neceſſary when the young prince ſhould be of age, as he had been during his minority; and thereby engroſs all power in his own hands.

[e] Whilſt Antiochus was in Egypt, a falſe report

[d] Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 310.

[e] 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron in Dan.

port of his death ſpread throughout Paleſtine. Jaſon thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had loſt in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thouſand men to Jeruſalem; and there, by the aſſiſtance of his partizans in the city, made himſelf maſter of it; drove out Tenelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exerciſed every ſpecies of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and unmercifully put to death all thoſe who fell into his hands, and whom he conſidered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general inſurrection, and therefore ſet forward immediately to quell it. The circumſtance which moſtly exaſperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had made great rejoicings, when a falſe report had prevailed of his death. He therefore beſieged the city, took it by ſtorm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the ſoldiers, he cauſed fourſcore thouſand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thouſand were alſo taken priſoners, and the like number ſold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet ſatisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the ſanctuary and the moſt ſacred places; even polluting, by his preſence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding ſacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the ſhew-bread, the candleſtick with ſeven branches belonging to the ſanctuary (all theſe were of gold;) with ſeveral other vaſes, utenſils, and gifts of kings, alſo of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the ſpoils of Judea and Egypt, all which together amounted to immenſe * ſums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his ſetting out, appointed, as Governor

* We are told in the Maccabees, Book II. ch. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple only eighteen hundred talents, which are equivalent to about two hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling.

over Judea, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: He nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous diſpoſition, governor of Samaria; and beſtowed on Menelaus, the moſt wicked of the three, the title of high-prieſt, inveſting him with the authority annexed to that office.

[f] Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jeruſalem by ſtrange phænomena in the ſkies, that had appeared there, ſome time before, during forty days ſucceſſively. Theſe were men, ſome on horſeback, and others on foot, armed with ſhields, lances, and ſwords, who forming conſiderable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

[g] The Alexandrians, ſeeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he ſuffered to govern his kingdom at diſcretion, conſidered him as loſt to them, and therefore ſeated his younger brother upon the throne, which they firſt declared void. [h] On this occaſion he had the name of Ptolemy *Evergetes* II. given him, which was ſoon changed to that of *Cacergetes;* the former ſignifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed * *Phyſcon*, or *tun-bellied*, becauſe his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. [i] Moſt hiſtorians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief miniſters, and were ordered to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore, if poſſible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flouriſhing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was tranſacting, took occaſion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the dethroned monarch; but in reality, to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a ſea-fight near Peluſium, marched

[f] 2 Maccab. v. 2—4. [g] A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. [h] Athen. l. iv. p. 184. [i] Polyb. in Leg. c. lxxxi.

* φυσκων *ventricoſus*, *obeſus*, from φυσκη, *Craſſum intoſtinum*, *venter*.

marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to beſiege it. The young king conſulted his two miniſters, who adviſed him to ſummon a grand council, compoſed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them, on the meaſures proper to be taken in the preſent exigency. After many debates, they came at laſt to this reſolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to ſo low an ebb, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambaſſadors of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, ſhould be deſired to employ their mediation, to which they readily conſented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambaſſadors, who had the ſame inſtructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their propoſals on the morrow. The Achæans ſpoke firſt, and afterwards the reſt in their turns. All were unanimous in their accuſation of Eulæus; aſcribing the calamities of the war to his mal-adminiſtration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the ſame time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great ſtreſs on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the anſwer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cauſe and origin of the war; took occaſion from thence to inforce the right he had to Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; alledged the reaſons we have related above; and produced ſome authentic inſtruments, which were judged ſo ſtrong, that all the members of this congreſs were convinced that he had the juſteſt right to thoſe provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he poſtponed them till another opportunity; promiſing them that he would make

preparations for a ſolemn treaty, as ſoon as two abſent perſons, whom he named, ſhould be with him; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would not take a ſingle ſtep without them.

After this anſwer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to beſiege it. [k] In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes and Cleopatra his ſiſter, who were in the city, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome; repreſenting the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambaſſadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the ſenate, with all the marks of ſorrow uſed at that time in the greateſt afflictions, and made a ſpeech ſtill more affecting. They obſerved, that the authority of the Romans was ſo much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received ſo many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambaſſadors, that the ſenate did not approve of his making war againſt kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, ſhould the ſenate refuſe to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a diſhonour on the Romans, ſhould the world have an opportunity to ſay, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were ſo deſperate.

The ſenate, moved with their remonſtrances, and perſuaded that it would not be for the intereſt of the Romans to ſuffer Antiochus to attain to ſuch a height of power, which would be too formidable, ſhould he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hoſtilius, were appointed for this important negociation. Their inſtructions

[k] Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc.

inſtructions were, that they ſhould firſt wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy: ſhould order them, in the name of the ſenate, to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war: and that, ſhould either of the parties refuſe a compliance, the Romans would no longer conſider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the reſolution had been taken in the ſenate, they ſet out from Rome with the Egyptian ambaſſadors.

[1] A little before their departure, ſome Rhodian ambaſſadors arrived in Egypt, who came expreſsly to terminate, if poſſible, the diviſions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce them to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; ſtrongly inſiſting on the friendſhip with which both crowns had ſo long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to ſettle a laſting peace between them. As they expatiated conſiderably on theſe common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words: that they had no occaſion to make long harangues on this ſubject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a ſtrict friendſhip; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

[m] He ſaid theſe words, but harboured a very different deſign; his view being only to perplex affairs for the attainment of his own ends. The reſiſtance he met with from Alexandria, the ſiege of which he plainly ſaw he ſhould be forced to raiſe, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforwards be his intereſt to keep up an enmity and occaſion a war between the two brothers which might weaken them to ſuch a degree, that it ſhould be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleaſed.

[1] Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv. [m] Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

pleaſed. In this view he raiſed the ſiege, marched towards Memphis; and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, Peluſium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleaſed, and the inſtant matters ſhould be ripe for his purpoſe. After having made theſe diſpoſitions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at laſt to wake from the lethargy, into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be ſenſible of all the calamities theſe revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to ſee through Antiochus's deſign; and that king's keeping poſſeſſion of Peluſium entirely opened his eyes. He ſaw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himſelf ſhould be reduced ſo low, as to be unable to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The inſtant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he ſent to inform his brother, that he deſired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their ſiſter, on condition that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was reſtored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly thoſe of Alexandria, who had ſuffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus ſpoken from his heart, when he declared that the ſole deſign of his coming into Egypt was to reſtore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleaſed to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining ſuch thoughts; and I before obſerved, that he concealed beneath thoſe ſpecious profeſſions, an intention to cruſh the two brothers, after they ſhould have reduced each other by a war.

[n] The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again

[n] Polyb. Legat. lxxxix—xci.

again invade them with great vigour, ſent ambaſſadors into Greece, to deſire ſome auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The aſſembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requeſted only a thouſand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horſe under Polybius. They had alſo given orders for raiſing a thouſand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who preſided in the aſſembly, oppoſed the requeſt made by the ambaſſadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the intereſt of the Achæan confederates, to concern themſelves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preſerve their ſoldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would ſoon come to a battle with Perſeus. Lycortas and Polybius then ſpeaking, obſerved, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to ſend him; the conſul thanked him, and ſaid, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he ſhould not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Beſides, that as the league was able, without the leaſt inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thouſand men, conſequently ſo ſmall a number as was deſired by the Egyptian princes, would not leſſen their ſtrength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the higheſt ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refuſal on this occaſion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in ſuch an aſſembly.

It therefore was held, ſome time after, in Sicyon; and

and as the members were upon the point of taking the ſame reſolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemys and Antiochus, and in conſequence cauſed a decree to paſs, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to ſend only an embaſſy to thoſe princes.

° The inſtant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he reſolved to employ his whole force againſt them. Accordingly he ſent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preſerve the poſſeſſion of that iſland: At the ſame time he marched at the head of a very powerful land army, with the deſign to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cauſe of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambaſſadors from Philometor, who told him, That their ſovereign was very ſenſible that he owed his reſtoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to deſtroy his own work by employing fire and ſword; but on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretenſions. Antiochus, throwing off the maſk, no longer uſed the tender and affectionate expreſſions of which he had till then been ſo oſtentatiouſly laviſh, but declared himſelf at once an enemy to both. He told the ambaſſadors, that he inſiſted upon having the iſland of Cyprus with the city of Peluſium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was ſituated, reſigned to him for ever; aſſuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He alſo fixed a day for a final anſwer to his demand.

The time being elapſed, and the ſatisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hoſtilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, ſubjecting the whole

° A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

whole country through which he paſſed; and there received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the reſt of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with deſign to beſiege that city, the poſſeſſion of which would have made him abſolute maſter of all Egypt. He would certainly have ſucceeded in his enterprize, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embaſſy, which broke all the meaſures he had been ſo long taking, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt.

We before obſerved, that the ambaſſadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmoſt diligence. They landed at Alexandria, juſt at the time Antiochus was marching to beſiege it. The ambaſſadors came up with him at * Eleuſine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king ſeeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hoſtage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him as his old friend. The Roman, who did not conſider himſelf on that occaſion as a private man, but a ſervant of the public, deſired to know, before he anſwered his compliment, whether he ſpoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the ſenate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate anſwer. Antiochus, after peruſing it, ſaid, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his anſwer in a ſhort time, Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raiſing his voice; "Anſwer," ſays he, "the ſenate, before you ſtir out of that circle." The king quite confounded at ſo haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the deſire of the ſenate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved afterwards in all

* Turnebius and H. Valeſius think that we ſhould read, in Livy, Eleuſinem *inſtead of* Leuſinem.

reſpects as an old friend. * How effectual was this blunt loftineſs of ſentiments and expreſſion! The Roman with a few words ſtrikes terror into the king of Syria, and ſaves the king of Egypt.

The circumſtance which made the one ſo bold, and the other ſo ſubmiſſive, was the news that arrived juſt before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perſeus king of Macedonia. From that inſtant, every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time ſtipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he ſigned the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then croſſed into Cyprus; ſent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; reſtored the whole iſland to the kings of Egypt, who laid a juſt claim to it; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs of his embaſſy.

Ambaſſadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemys and Cleopatra their ſiſter, arrived there almoſt at the ſame time. The former ſaid, "That the peace "which the ſenate had been pleaſed to grant their ſo-"vereign, appeared to him more glorious than the "moſt ſplendid conqueſts; and that he had obeyed "the commands of the Roman ambaſſadors, as "ſtrictly as if they had been ſent from the gods." How groveling, and at the ſame time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perſeus. The reſt of the ambaſſadors declared, in the like extravagant ſtrain; "That the two Ptolemys "and Cleopatra thought themſelves bound in as "great obligations to the ſenate and people of Rome, "as to their parents, and even to the gods; having "been

* *Quam efficax eſt animi ſermoniſque abſciſſa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit.* VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4.

"been delivered, by the protection which Rome had "granted them, from a very grievous siege: and re- "established on the throne of their ancestors, of which "they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered; "That Antiochus acted wisely, "in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that "the people and senate of Rome were pleased with "him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered; "That the "senate were very much pleased with the opportunity "of doing them some service; and that they would "endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to "look upon the friendship and protection of the Ro- "mans, as the most solid support of their kingdom." The Prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECT. III. *Antiochus, enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true* GOD *in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of* GOD. *Judas Maccabeus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

[a] ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already

[a] A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Paleſtine, he detached twenty-two thouſand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to deſtroy the city of Jeruſalem.

Apollonius arrived there juſt two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his firſt coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received ſuch cruel orders, and waited till the firſt day of the ſabbath before he executed them. But then, ſeeing all the people aſſembled peaceably in the ſynagogues, and paying their religious worſhip to the Creator; he put in execution the barbarous commiſſion he had received, and ſetting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to ſeize all the women and children, in order that they might be expoſed to ſale. Theſe commands were obeyed with the utmoſt cruelty and rigour. Not a ſingle man was ſpared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, inſomuch that every part of the city ſtreamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire ſet to ſeveral parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demoliſhed ſuch parts of the houſes as were ſtill ſtanding; and, with the ruins, built a ſtrong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, oppoſite to the temple which it commanded. They threw a ſtrong garriſon into it, to awe the whole Jewiſh nation; they made it a good place for arms, furniſhed with good magazines, where they depoſited all the ſpoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garriſon fell on all who came to worſhip the true GOD in the temple: and ſhed their blood on every part of the ſanctuary, which they polluted by all poſſible methods. A ſtop was put to both morning and evening ſacrifices; not one of the ſervants of the true GOD daring to come and adore him there.

A

[b] As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages; to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner, as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seem not to have been affected with the change of their worship or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular,* might henceforwards be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously; and ordered *Nicanor*, deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their GOD and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination

[b] 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. & 2. Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

* They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel *(Jehovah)* was never uttered by the Jews.

inclination and libertiniſm, changed alſo their religion. From theſe different motives many fell from Iſrael; [c] and ſeveral of thoſe who had once taken this wicked ſtep, joining themſelves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater perſecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themſelves, employed to execute this barbarous commiſſion.

The intendant, who was ſent into Judæa and Samaria, to ſee the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well verſed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reaſon, was judged a fit perſon to invite thoſe nations to join in it. As ſoon as he arrived in Jeruſalem, he began by putting a ſtop to the ſacrifices which were offered up to the God of Iſrael, and ſuppreſſing all the obſervances of the Jewiſh law. They polluted the temple in ſuch a manner, that it was no longer fit for the ſervice of God; profaned the ſabbaths and other feſtivals; forbid the circumciſion of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law wherever they could find them: aboliſhed all the ordinances of God in every part of the country, and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian ſoldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief inſtruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion profeſſed by the ſovereign.

To eſtabliſh it the ſooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and ſacred groves were planted. They ſet officers over theſe, who cauſed all the people in general to offer ſacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat ſwine's fleſh, and other unclean animals ſacrificed there.

One

[c] 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

[d] One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of GOD. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father Asmoneus the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of GOD as himself. These were Joannan surnamed *Gaddis;* Simon surnamed *Thasi;* Judas surnamed *Maccabeus;* Eleazar called *Abaron;* and Jonathan called *Apphus*. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised that, in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of GOD.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a † just and holy indignation, he fell upon the apostate and killed him: after this, being assisted by his

[d] 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

* *Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, & consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, & fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.*

† GOD had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xii. ver. 6—11.

his ſons, and ſome others who joined them, he alſo killed the king's commiſſioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the ſtandard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city; * "Whoſoever is zealous of the law [e], and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me." As he now had aſſembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worſhip of GOD, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they were ſoon followed by others; ſo that all the deſerts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the perſecution.

[f] At firſt, when the Jews were attacked on the ſabbath, for fear of violating the holineſs of the day, they did not dare to make the leaſt defence, but ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces. However, they ſoon became ſenſible, that the law of the ſabbath was not binding to perſons in ſuch imminent danger as themſelves.

[g] Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not ſo implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, went thither in perſon, in order to ſee them put in execution. He then exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties over all ſuch Jews as refuſed to abjure their religion; in order to force the reſt, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. [h] At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her ſeven ſons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their hiſtory is univerſally known, they appear to me ſo important, and relate ſo nearly to Antiochus, whoſe life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myſelf to omit it. I ſhall therefore repeat it in almoſt the very words of the ſcripture.

The

[e] 1 Maccab. vii. 27. [f] 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8. [g] A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Joſeph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v. [h] 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

* *Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, ſtatuens teſtamentum, exeat poſt me.*

The extreme violence of the perſecution occaſioned many to fall away: but on the other ſide, ſeveral continued inflexible, and choſe to ſuffer death, rather than pollute themſelves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the moſt illuſtrious among theſe. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whoſe life had been one continued ſeries of ſpotleſs innocence. He was commanded to eat ſwine's fleſh, and endeavours were uſed to make him ſwallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious death to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution; and perſevering in his reſolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to ſave his life.

His friends who were preſent, moved with an unjuſt compaſſion, took him aſide, and earneſtly beſought him to permit them to bring him ſuch meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined that he had eaten of the meats of the ſacrifice, purſuant to the king's command; and by that means ſave his life. But Eleazar, conſidering only what great age, the noble and generous ſentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, anſwered, purſuant to the ordinances of the holy law of GOD, that he would rather die than conſent to what was deſired from him. "It would be ſhameful, ſays "he to them, for me, at this age, to uſe ſuch an "artifice, as many young men, upon the ſuppoſition "that Eleazar, at fourſcore and ten years of age, "had embraced the principles of the heathens, would "be impoſed upon by ſuch deceit, which I ſhould "have employed to preſerve the ſhort remains of a "corruptible life; and thereby I ſhould diſhonour my "old age, and expoſe it to the curſes of all men. "Beſides, ſuppoſing I ſhould by that means avoid the "puniſhment of men, I could never fly from the "hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor "in that which is to come. For this reaſon, if I

"lay

" lay down my life courageouſly, I ſhall appear " worthy of old age; and ſtill leave behind me, for " the imitation of young people, an example of con- " ſtancy and reſolution, by ſuffering patiently an " honourable death, for the ſake of our venerable, " and holy laws." Eleazar had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but he was dragged to execution. The officers that attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with ſome humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had ſaid, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breath his laſt, he vented a deep ſigh and ſaid: " O LORD! thou who art poſſeſſed of the holy know- " ledge, thou ſeeſt that I, who could have delivered " myſelf from death, do yet ſuffer cruel agonies in " my body; but in my ſoul find joy in my ſufferings, " becauſe I fear thee." Thus died this holy man, leaving by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and reſolution.

At this time ſeven brothers, with their mother, were ſeiſed; and king Antiochus would force them to eat ſwine's fleſh contrary to their law, by cauſing their bodies to be ſcourged in a moſt inhuman manner. But the eldeſt of the brethren ſaid to him: " What is " it thou wouldſt aſk or have of us? We are ready to " lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy " laws which GOD gave to our forefathers." The king being exaſperated at theſe words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he cauſed the tongue of that man who had ſpoke firſt to be cut off; had the ſkin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, be- fore his mother and his brethren. After being muti- lated in every part of his body, he was brought cloſe to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilſt theſe variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageouſly, ſaying: " The LORD GOD will have regard to truth: he

" he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moſes " declares in his ſong,"

The firſt dying in this manner, the ſecond was taken; and after the hair of his head, with the ſkin, were tore away, he was aſked whether he would eat of ſome meats which were preſented to him; otherwiſe, that all his limbs ſhould be ſevered from his body. But he anſwered in the language of his country, " I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the ſame manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he ſpoke thus to the king: " Wicked prince! you bereave us of this terreſtrial " life: but the king of heaven and earth, if we die " for the defence of his laws, will one day raiſe us up " to everlaſting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards ſtretching forth his hands with the utmoſt tranquillity of mind, he bravely ſaid: " I received theſe limbs from heaven, but I now de- " ſpiſe them, ſince I am to defend the laws of GOD; " from the ſure and ſtedfaſt hopes that he will one " day reſtore them to me." The king and all his followers were aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of this young man, who ſcorned the utmoſt efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the ſame manner, and being ready to die, he ſaid to the monarch: " It is " for our advantage to be killed by men, becauſe " we hope that GOD will reſtore us to life at the " reſurrection: but you, O king, will never riſe to " life."

The fifth, whilſt they were tormenting him, ſaid to Antiochus: " You now act according to your own " will and pleaſure, becauſe you are inveſted with " abſolute human power, though you are but a mortal " man. But do not imagine that GOD has forſaken " our nation. Stay but a little, and you will ſee

" the

" the wondrous effects of his power; and in what " manner he will torment yourself and your race."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said: " Do not deceive yourself: It is true, " indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite " tortures which we now suffer: but do not flatter " yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having " presumed to make war against GOD himself."

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in GOD, beheld with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them: " I know " not in what manner you were formed in my womb; " for it was not I who inspired you with a soul and " with life, nor formed your members; but I am " sure that the Creator of the world, who fashioned " man, and who gave being to all things, will one day " restore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return " for your having despised it here, out of the love you " bear to his laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary councils. This she promised; and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him in her native language, " Son, " have pity on me; on me, who bore you nine " months in my womb; who for three years fed you " with milk from my breasts, and brought you up " ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look up- " on heaven and earth, and every thing they contain; " and firmly to believe that GOD formed them all as " well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner; " but

"but shew yourself worthy of your brethren, by "submitting chearfully to death; in order that, by "the mercy of GOD, I may receive you, together "with your brothers, in the glory which awaits "us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud; "What is it you expect from me? "I do not obey the king's command, but the law "which was given us by Moses. As to you, from "whom all the calamities with which the Hebrews "have been afflicted flow, you shall not escape the "hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, "are owing to our sins: but if the LORD our GOD, "to punish us, was, for a little time, angry with us, "he at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his "servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the "most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with "vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment "of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. "As to my brothers; after having suffered a mo- "ment the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal "joys. In imitation of the example they have set "me, I freely give up my body and life for the laws "of my forefathers; and I beseech GOD to extend his "mercy soon to our nation; to force you by wounds "and tortures of every kind to confess that he is the "only GOD; and that his anger, which is justly fallen "on the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that "of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in GOD. At last the mother also suffered death.

[1] Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the

[1] A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12.

the law of GOD againſt their perſecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as preſident of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his anceſtors, all the faithful Iſraelites ſhedding floods of tears at his death.

[k] Antiochus finding that Paulus Emilius, after having defeated Perſeus and conquered Macedonia, had ſolemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, ſituated on the river Strymon, was deſirous to have the ſame ſpectacle exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, ſent to all places to invite ſpectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, coſt immenſe ſums, and laſted ſeveral days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, anſwered in every reſpect to the character given of him by Daniel,[l] who calls him a vile or contemptible *man*; as I have ſaid elſewhere. He there did ſo many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, aſſembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-ſtock of them all: and many of them were ſo much diſguſted, that, to prevent their being ſpectators of a conduct ſo unworthy a prince, and ſo repugnant to the rules of modeſty and decorum, they refuſed to go any more to the feaſts to which he invited them.

[m] He had ſcarce ended the ſolemnization of theſe games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambaſſador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him ſo polite and friendly a reception, that the ambaſſador not only laid aſide all ſuſpicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any reſentment with reſpect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed thoſe who had ſpread ſuch reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beſides other civilities, quitted his

[k] Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 321. [l] Dan. xi. 21. [m] Polyb. Legat. ci.—civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 322.

his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these careſſes; for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

[n] Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flatterred himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

[o] He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed

[n] 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

beſtowed on particular perſons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; ſometimes ſeaſonably enough, but moſt frequently without ſenſe or reaſon. On theſe occaſions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he ſhould [p] "ſcatter among them the prey and ſpoil of riches;" and the author of the [q] Maccabees ſays, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had "abounded above the kings that were before him." We are told [r] by Athenæus, that the circumſtances which enabled him to defray ſo prodigious an expence were, firſt, the ſpoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promiſe he had made Philometor in his minority; ſecondly, the ſums he had raiſed among his friends, by way of free gifts; laſtly (which was the moſt conſiderable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had ſacrilegiouſly invaded.

[s] Beſides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others aroſe, according to Daniel's prophecy, "from the tidings" which came to him "out of the Eaſt and out of the North." For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled againſt him; and Perſia which lay eaſtward, diſcontinued the regular payment of the tribute. [t] There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things ſeemed in the utmoſt confuſion, occaſioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient cuſtoms of ſo many of his ſubjects were aboliſhed; and thoſe of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculouſly fond, eſtabliſhed in their ſtead. Theſe things occaſioned great confuſion with reſpect to the payments which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vaſt and rich empire, and had always ſupplied ſums ſufficient to defray the great expences it was neceſſary to be at.

To

p Dan. xi. 24. q 1 Maccab. iii. 30.
r Athen. l. v. p. 195. s Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum.
t 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

"To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts: to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the blood-royal, in order the he might subdue the Jews; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to re-instate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lysias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates; and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called * *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself, that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lysias was considering how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, on which Judæa depended and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such mea-

* 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

* He was then but seven years old.

ſures as might beſt ſupport the intereſts of their common ſovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyſias. A reſolution was therefore immediately taken to ſend an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generaliſſimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; ſent him before, at the head of twenty thouſand men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of conſummate experience, to aſſiſt him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were ſoon followed by Ptolemy, with the reſt of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jeruſalem. It conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe.

Thither alſo repaired an army of another kind. It conſiſted of merchants who came to purchaſe the ſlaves, who, it was ſuppoſed would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of levying large ſums of money by this means, ſufficient to pay the two * thouſand talents which the king ſtill owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, publiſhed a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring that all the priſoners taken in that war ſhould be ſold, at the rate of ninety for a talent.† A reſolution indeed had been taken to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the reſt to a ſtate of captivity; and one hundred and eighty thouſand of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have ſold exactly for the ſum in queſtion. The merchants therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought conſiderable ſums with them. We are told that a thouſand, all of them very conſiderable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occaſion, without including their domeſtics,

* About three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.
† A thouſand crowns.

meſtics, and the perſons they ſhould want to look after the captives they intended to purchaſe.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened by the approach of ſo powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewiſh nation, reſolved to make a very vigorous defenſe; to fight for themſelves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer or die ſword in hand. Accordingly they divided the ſix thouſand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himſelf at the head of the firſt, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maſpha, there to offer together their prayers to GOD, and to implore his aſſiſtance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, becauſe, as Jeruſalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the ſanctuary trampled upon, they could not aſſemble in it to ſolemnize that religious act; and Maſpha ſeemed the fitteſt place for that purpoſe, becauſe GOD was worſhipped there before the foundation of the temple.

[x] Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each ſide very unequal, and the diſpoſition of their minds ſtill more ſo. [y] They agree however in one point, that is, both are firmly perſuaded they ſhall gain the victory; the one, becauſe they have a mighty army of well diſciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, becauſe they put their whole truſt in the GOD of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the [z] law, that thoſe who had built a houſe that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's ſix thouſand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheleſs this valiant captain of the people of GOD, reſolutely determined

[x] Judges xx. 1. [y] 1 Reg. vii. 5. [z] Deut. xx. 5, &c.

mined to fight the mighty hoſt of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the iſſue to Providence; advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his ſoldiers, after having animated them by all the motives of which the preſent conjuncture ſupplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they muſt prepare for it.

But receiving advice that ſame evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, all choſen troops; and that he was marching a bye-way, through which the apoſtate Jews led him, in order to come and ſurprize his camp in the night; he was not ſatisfied with fruſtrating that deſign, but even made uſe of the very ſtratagem which the enemy intended to employ againſt him, and was ſucceſsful in it. For, raiſing his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage; he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the beſt troops having been detached from it; and ſpread ſuch terror and confuſion into every part of it, that after three thouſand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the reſt fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was ſtill at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wiſe captain, kept his troops together; and would not ſuffer them to ſtraggle about after plunder, or in purſuit of the enemy, till they ſhould have defeated that body alſo. He was ſucceſsful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having ſought for him in vain in the mountains whither he ſuppoſed he had retired, withdrew at laſt into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his ſoldiers ſtraggling and flying away, it was impoſſible for him to keep them in order; ſo that theſe threw down their arms and fled alſo. Then Judas and the men under his command purſued them vigorouſly and cut to pieces

pieces a greater number on this occaſion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thouſand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greateſt part of thoſe who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his ſoldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immenſe booty; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themſelves taken priſoners and ſold. The next day, being the ſabbath, was ſolemnized in the moſt religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occaſion, gave themſelves up to an holy joy; and unanimouſly returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and ſignal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a ſenſible image of the feeble oppoſition which the human arm is able to make againſt that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depend. It is evident that Judas was fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs. "How can we," ſays he to the Almighty before the battle, "ſtand before them, unleſs thou thyſelf aſſiſteſt us?" And it is as evident that he was no leſs firmly perſuaded of the ſucceſs of his arms, "The victory," he had ſaid before, "does not depend on the number of ſoldiers, but it is from heaven that all our ſtrength comes." But although Judas had ſo entire a confidence in GOD, he employs all thoſe expedients which the moſt experienced and braveſt general could uſe, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! to pray with humility, becauſe all things depend on GOD: and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.—We are ſtill poſſeſſed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain ſuch thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, compoſed of as brave ſoldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almoſt unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all thoſe human advantages, but ſolely on the protection of the GOD of armies.

Judas

[z] Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and re-enforced by a great number of troops whom this ſucceſs brought to him, employed the advantage this gave him to diſtreſs the reſt of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raiſing troops to fight him, he marched againſt them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thouſand of their men.

[a] Lyſias hearing of the ill ſucceſs which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great loſſes he had ſuſtained in that country, was in great aſtoniſhment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a ſtrong deſire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition againſt the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of ſixty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, all choſen troops; and putting himſelf at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly reſolved to lay waſte the whole country, and to deſtroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethſura, a city ſtanding to the ſouth of Jeruſalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thouſand men; and fully perſuaded that the LORD would aſſiſt him, he engaged the enemy with this inconſiderable body of troops, killed five thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight. Lyſias, diſmayed at the ſurpriſing valour of Judas's ſoldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending, nevertheleſs, to come and attack them again the next year with a ſtill more powerful body of forces.

[b] Judas, being left maſter of the field by the retreat of Lyſias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jeruſalem, where he recovered the ſanctuary

[z] 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33. [a] A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. [b] 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. & v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

ſanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the ſervice of GOD. This ſolemn dedication continued a week, all which was ſpent in thankſgiving for the delivery that GOD had vouchſafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniverſary of it ſhould be ſolemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the proſperity of the Jews, made a league to deſtroy them; and reſolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

[c] This prince was then in Perſia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and eſpecially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius ſays was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious ſums were laid up. He went thither, with a deſign to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jeruſalem. But his deſign having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a ſhameful repulſe. Antiochus, thunder-ſtruck at this diſgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he ſet out with all poſſible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and deſtruction. Advancing in this diſpoſition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, freſh expreſſes came to him with advice of Lyſias's defeat, and alſo that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had ſet up in them, and re-eſtabliſhed their ancient worſhip. At this news his fury increaſed. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed, in order that

[c] A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2. Maccab. ix. 1—19. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

that he might have an opportunity to ſatiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jeruſalem the burying place of the whole Jewiſh nation, and not to leave one ſingle inhabitant in it. He had ſcarce uttered that blaſphemous expreſſion, but he was ſtruck by the hand of GOD. He was ſeiſed with incredible pains in his bowels, and the moſt exceſſive pangs of the cholic. "Thus the murtherer and blaſphemer," ſays the author of the Maccabees, "having ſuffered moſt grievouſly, as he treated other men, ſo died he a miſerable death, in a ſtrange country in the mountain."

But ſtill his pride was not abated by this firſt ſhock: ſo far from it, that ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away by the wild tranſports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance againſt the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all poſſible ſpeed in the journey. But as his horſes were running forwards impetuouſly, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruiſed, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; ſo that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he ſuffered inexpreſſible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his fleſh fell away piece-meal, and the ſtench was ſo great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himſelf unable to bear it. [d] "It is meet," ſays he, "to be ſubject unto GOD; and man who is mortal, ſhould not think of himſelf as if he were a god." Acknowledging that it was the hand of the LORD of Iſrael which ſtruck him, becauſe of the calamities he had brought upon Jeruſalem, he promiſes to exert his utmoſt liberality towards his choſen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jeruſalem which he had plundered, to furniſh, from his revenues, the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expence of the ſacrifices; to turn Jew himſelf; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publiſh the power of the Almighty. He hoped he ſhould calm his wrath by theſe mighty promiſes,

[d] 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

promiſes, which the violence of his preſent affliction, and the fear of future torment, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in queſtion, [c] "This wicked perſon vowed unto the LORD, who now no more would have mercy upon him." And indeed this murderer and blaſphemer (theſe are the names which the writer of the Maccabees ſubſtituted in the place of *illuſtrious*, which men had beſtowed on that prince) being ſtruck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finiſhed an impious life by a miſerable death.*

Before he expired, he ſent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had beſtowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his ſon, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the ſeal of the empire, and all the other enſigns of royalty; exhorting him, eſpecially, to employ his utmoſt endeavours to give him ſuch an education as would beſt teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and moderation. Few princes give ſuch inſtructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having ſet them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip cauſed the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had ſat eleven years on the throne.

[c] 2 Maccab. xiii.

* Polybius atteſts the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that ſpectres ſtood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This hiſtorian, who was unacquainted with the ſcriptures, aſſigns as the cauſe of this puniſhment, the ſacrilegious attempt formed by this prince againſt the temple of Diana in Elymais. POLYB. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes.*

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent perſecutor of the people of GOD, who formed the Jewiſh church; and was, at the ſame time, the type of the Antichriſt, who, in after ages was to afflict the Chriſtian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy conſiſts of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the perſecution carried on by him againſt the Jews. We ſhall treat theſe ſeparately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

[f] "And in his," Seleucus Philopator's, "eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." This verſe, which points out the acceſſion of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

[g] "And with the arms of a flood ſhall they," the Syrians, "be overflown before him," Antiochus Epiphanes, "and ſhall be broken; yea, alſo the prince of the covenant." Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as alſo thoſe of the Egyptian king, who had formed deſigns againſt Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and diſperſed by the arrival of Antiochus, whoſe preſence diſconcerted all their projects. By the "prince of the covenant," we may ſuppoſe to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ringleader of the conſpirators, who had killed

[f] Dan. xi. 21. [g] Ver. 22.

killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who loſt his life by a conſpiracy of his own ſubjects, when he was meditating a war againſt Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adverſary, to make way for Antiochus, and raiſe him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verſes, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS's *firſt* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[h] "And after the league made with him," with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew king of Egypt, "he ſhall work deceitfully; for he ſhall come up, and ſhall become ſtrong with a ſmall people." Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; "he yet ſhall aſſume a ſpecious appearance of friendſhip for the king of Egypt." He even ſent Apollonius to Memphis, to be preſent at the banquet given on the occaſion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after, on pretence of defending his nephew he marched into Egypt with a "ſmall army," in compariſon of thoſe which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Peluſium. Antiochus "was ſtrongeſt," that is victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his firſt expedition.

ANTIOCHUS's *ſecond* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[i] "He ſhall enter peaceably even upon the fatteſt places of the province (Egypt) and he ſhall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers; he ſhall ſcatter among them (his troops) the prey and ſpoil and riches; yea, and he ſhall forecaſt his devices againſt the ſtrong holds, even for a time.

"And

[h] Dan. xi. 23. [i] Ver. 24.

[k] "And he ſhall ſtir up his power and his courage againſt the king of the South (of Egypt) with a great army, and the king of the South ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he ſhall not ſtand, for they ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him."

[l] "Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat, ſhall deſtroy him, and his army ſhall overflow; and many ſhall fall down ſlain."

In theſe three verſes appear the principal characters of Antiochus's ſecond expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conqueſts, the rich ſpoils he carried from thence, and the diſſimulation and treachery he began to practiſe with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by ſea and land, the inſtant the ſeaſon would permit. [m] "Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horſemen, and a great navy.——And made war againſt Ptolemy king of Egypt: But Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled; and many were wounded to death.——Thus they got the ſtrong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the ſpoils thereof."

Daniel, ſome verſes after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

[n] "And at the time of the end ſhall the king of the South puſh at him (Ptolemy is here hinted at;) and the king of the North (Antiochus) ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind with chariots and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and he ſhall enter into the countries, and ſhall overflow and paſs over.

[o] "He ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land, and many countries ſhall be overthrown: But he ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon."

"He

[k] Dan. xi. 25. [l] Ver. 26. [m] 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.
[n] Dan. xi. 40. [o] Ver. 41.

[p] "He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the countries, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape.

[q] "But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and over the precious things of Egypt," &c.

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect reſemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the hiſtorian.

[r] Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He ſubdued Egypt with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, and did that [s] "which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers."

Ptolemy either ſurrendered himſelf, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at firſt treated him with kindneſs; had but one table with him, ſeemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, reſerving to himſelf Peluſium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus aſſumed this appearance of friendſhip with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. [t] "They that feed of the portion of his meat ſhall deſtroy him."

Antiochus did not make a long ſtay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march againſt them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raiſed Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his ſtead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had paſſed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of reſtoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom.

ANTIOCHUS'S

[p] Dan. ix. 42. [q] Ver. 43. [r] In Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 310.
[s] Dan. xi. 24. [t] Ver. 26.

ANTIOCHUS's *third* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[u] "And both theſe kings' hearts ſhall be to do miſchief; and they ſhall ſpeak lies at one table; but it ſhall not proſper: For yet the end ſhall be at the time appointed.

[x] "Then ſhall he (Antiochus) return into his land with great riches."

Antiochus's third expedition could ſcarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raiſed Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring Philometor: [y] *Per honeſtam ſpeciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a ſea-fight at Peluſium, he laid ſiege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a ſtrong oppoſition, he was contented with making himſelf maſter of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whoſe defence he pretended to have drawn the ſword: [z] *Cui regnum quæri ſuis viribus ſimulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the ſame table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a ſincere friendſhip. The uncle ſeemed to have his nephew's intereſt at heart, and the nephew to repoſe the higheſt confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere ſhow and outſide, both diſſembling their real ſentiments. The uncle endeavoured to cruſh his nephew: [a] *Cui regnum quæri ſuis, viribus ſimulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur;* and the nephew, who ſaw through his deſign, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus,* ſtrove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither ſucceeded in deceiving of the other: Nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

ANTIOCHUS's

[u] Dan. xi. 27. [x] Ver. 28. [y] Liv. l. xliv. n. 19.
[z] Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Daniel. [a] Liv. ibid.

ANTIOCHUS's *fourth* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[b] "At the time appointed he ſhall return and come toward the South, but it ſhall not be as the former, or as the latter.

[c] "For the ſhips of Chittim ſhall come againſt him. Therefore he ſhall be grieved and return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant."

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the maſk, and declared publicly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himſelf. And, to ſupport his pretenſions, "he returned towards the South," that is, into Egypt, but was not ſo ſucceſsful in this expedition as before. [d] As he was advancing forward to beſiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambaſſadors, who were on board a fleet compoſed of Macedonian or Greek ſhips, (for this the Hebrew word *Chittim* ſignifies) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but "with the utmoſt reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jeruſalem feel the dire effects of his indignation," as will be preſently ſeen.

Had the prophet been eye-witneſs to this event, would it have been poſſible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. CRUEL PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and thoſe of his four ſucſors.

"Behold

[b] Dan. xi. 29. [c] Dan. xi. 30. [d] Liv. l. xlv. n. 10.

[e] "Behold an he-goat came from the weſt, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground." Could it have been poſſible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts?—[f] "The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." Theſe are Alexander's four ſucceſſors. [g] "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the South, and toward the Eaſt, and toward the preſent land." This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained ſeveral victories towards the South and the Eaſt, and who ſtrongly oppoſed the army of the LORD and the Jewiſh people, of whom GOD was the ſtrength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed againſt the people of GOD, the prieſts of the LORD, his laws and his temple.

[h] "And it waxed great, (the horn) even to the hoſt of heaven, and it caſt down ſome of the hoſt, and of the ſtars to the ground, and ſtamped upon them.—[i] Yea, he magnified himſelf even to the prince of the hoſt (to GOD;) and by him the daily ſacrifice was taken away, and the place of his ſanctuary was caſt down.—— [k] And an hoſt was given him againſt the daily ſacrifice by reaſon of tranſgreſſion, and it caſt down the truth to the ground, and it practiſed and proſpered."

Daniel gives ſtill greater extent to the ſame prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

[l] "His heart ſhall be againſt the holy covenant; and he ſhall do exploits.——He ſhall return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant."

[m] During the ſiege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accuſed of expreſſing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, ſtormed it, and exerciſed

[e] Dan. viii. 5. [f] Ver. 8. [g] Ver. 9. [h] Ver 10. [i] Ver. 11. [k] Ver. 12. [l] Dan. xi. 28—30. [m] 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. & ii. ver. 5—21. Joſeph. Lib. de Maccab. &c.

erciſed all the barbarity that his fury could ſuggeſt. About forty * thouſand men were killed, and the ſame number ſold as ſlaves, in the compaſs of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the veſſels, treaſures, and rich ornaments.

[n] After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occaſion againſt the Jews. He ſent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to ſell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havock in Jeruſalem, ſet fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

[o] "He ſhall return, and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy covenant.——And arms ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the ſanctuary of ſtrength and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall place the abomination that maketh deſolate. ——And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall be corrupt by flatteries," &c.

[p] Antiochus declared openly for all thoſe who ſhould renounce the law. Having publiſhed an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he ſent ſome officers to Jeruſalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and aboliſh the worſhip of the Moſt High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his ſtatue in it. They raiſed in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer ſacrifices, and eat of meats ſacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, ſeemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their baſe apoſtacy.

"And

[n] 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. and ii. 24—26. [o] Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.
[p] 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.

* We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

[q] "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall Antiochus corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their GOD, shall be strong and do exploits." This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees, and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

[r] "And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days." This relates chiefly to Mattathias, and his sons.

[s] "Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

[t] "And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed." The sufferings and death of those, who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

[u] "And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the GOD of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: For that that is determined shall be done."

[x] "Neither shall he regard the GOD of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: For he shall magnify himself above all."

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against

q Dan. xi. 32. r Ver. 33. s Ver. 34. t Ver. 35.
u Ver. 36. x Ver. 37.

againſt Jeruſalem and the Jews, and almoſt without any reſiſtance. The Almighty ſeemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath againſt his people was ſatisfied.

[y] "But tidings out of the Eaſt, and out of the North, ſhall trouble him: therefore he ſhall go forth with great fury to deſtroy, and utterly to make away many."

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the Eaſt, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a reſolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. [z] Before he ſet out for the provinces on the other ſide of the Euphrates, he gave Lyſias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his abſence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to ſettle other nations in their country.

[a] "He ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace [† in Apadno] between the ſons in the glorious holy mountain [of Zabi]; yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him." This verſe, which is tranſlated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, becauſe of the two words Apadno and Zabi, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up theſe kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reaſon to ſuſpect, imagined that this verſe alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion

y Dan. xi. 44. z 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39. a Dan. xi. 45.

* *Antiochus demere ſuperſtitionem & mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Partherum bello prohibatus eſt: nam ea tempeſtate Arſaces defecerat.* TACIT. l. v. c. 8.

† N. B. The words between the crotchets in this verſe are not in our Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible.

opinion of the greateſt part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be ſatisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus ſhall pitch his camp near mount Zabi (doubtleſs the ſame with Taba *, where, according to [b] Polybius, he died) and that there he "ſhall come to his end," being abandoned by God, and having none to "help him." We have ſeen how he expired in the moſt cruel agonies, and ſtruck with an unavailing repentance, which only increaſed his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and ſeveral interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel ſpeaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another ſenſe, as alluding to Antichriſt. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the moſt ſenſible, as well as moſt expreſſive, types of that enemy of Chriſt Jeſus and our holy religion.

It is impoſſible for us, whilſt we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiouſly ſtruck to ſee the juſtneſs and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteriſtics of a king, whoſe hiſtory is ſo much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reaſon the holy ſpirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a tranſient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells ſo long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of Events, ſo very remote, and which depended on ſo many arbitrary circumſtances! How manifeſtly did the ſpirit, which preſented futurity to his view, ſhow it him as preſent, and in as clear a light, as if he had ſeen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the ſcriptures, and by a neceſſary conſequence, the certainty of the Chriſtian religion become

[b] Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

* Taba, according to Polybius, was in Perſia; and in Paretacena, according to Quintius Curtius.

come, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. Porphyry,* the professed enemy of the christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon day. However he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, were so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and

* Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tire, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

and ſacrilegious wretch, who ſhould have attempted only to tranſpoſe a ſingle word, or change one letter in it; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who ſhould pretend to introduce any ſuppoſititious books in them? Such are the witneſſes who atteſt the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs ſo convincing, or cauſe ſo victorious? [c] "Thy teſti-"monies are very ſure—O LORD, for ever.

[c] Pſal. xciii. 5.

END OF VOL. VIII.

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